

Małgorzata Maj, Stanisława Trebunia-Staszal

**THE ACTIVITY OF THE ETHNOLOGY
DEPARTMENT OF THE RACE
AND ETHNICITY STUDIES SECTION
IN THE LIGHT OF NEW SOURCE MATERIALS**

The aim of our study is to present the activity of one of the three departments of the Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung (SRV) – the Ethnology Department – on the basis of the currently available sources, which, to the extent of our interest, have so far been referred to relatively little in the publications, or are unknown at all. Special attention was paid to the presentation and evaluation of ethnographic documentation collected during the research conducted by the SRV, which constitutes a significant collection of materials from the Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit. The National Anthropological Archives Smithsonian Institution in Washington mainly stored the material related to this department, and this is more than 73,000 pages of written documents, including plans and reports on the activities of the department, correspondence and, above all, anthropological, medical and sociological surveys, filled in during research conducted in many towns of the GG, and a collection of nearly 3,500 photographs, some of which are of unique value, especially those taken in Podhale and the Lemko region. Apart from photographs of persons subjected to medical examinations and anthropological measurements, most of the remaining negatives and prints as well as slides prepared by the IDO employees or obtained by them from archives and museums in the Reich or the GG document the folk culture of various ethnographic groups in the Carpathians. The collection, which was handed over to the Jagiellonian University in 2008, completed the documentation found in the university buildings occupied by the Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit after the end of World War II, or which returned as a collection

restituted by Karol Estreicher and was included in the resources of the Jagiellonian University Archives (the so-called "Old IDO"). This resource has been significantly expanded over the last few years. As a result of queries undertaken by a team of employees of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the Jagiellonian University, further materials collected by IDO were found, in particular the SRV materials.¹ the collection of more than 1,250 photographs and glass plates is located in the Archives of the Ethnographic Information and Documentation Unit of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Jagiellonian University (IEiAK), and is discussed at length in an article by Elżbieta Duszeńko-Król, published in this volume, as well as in her book (Duszeńko-Król 2014). It was also established that more than 500 inventory cards with a photograph attached, forming part of the SRV archives and several hundred pages of ethnographic studies, are held in the Archives of the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Cracow.² the National Archives in Cracow contain also a large collection of materials connected with the activity of several IDO sections, including also the SRV.³ Some of them are very valuable for us, as they supplement anthropological-ethnographic documentation. The archives contain various types of data, collected during field research or noted down from existing written sources, in accordance with the assumption that it is necessary to conduct a comprehensive research of selected communities. For example, there is a detailed description of all the farms in Hańczowa, drawn up by the Sektion Landwirtschaft. The sheets take into account both land structure, crop characteristics, the state of animal breeding and basic family information, as well as many additional records concerning other areas of life.⁴ In combination with the rich anthropological, demographic, sociological and ethnographic materials collected by the SRV and concerning this village, it allows to reconstruct the image of this Lemko community scattered after the World War II. In turn, the Institute of National Remembrance, in the resources of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes

¹ From April to September 2014, the authors conducted searches and field research as part of the NCN project managed by S. Trebunia-Staszek entitled "Podhale Highlanders in Nazi National and Ethnic Policy Concepts in Light of Documents of the Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung operating within IDO" UMO-2013/09/B/HS3/03574.

² The inventory of these documents, prepared by the MEK staff member, Alicja Maleta, can be found in the IEiAK UJ Archives – the documentation of the M. Maj research project, IEiAK UJ, "Preparation of ethnographical materials concerning Podhale from the collections of the Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit", 2008–2011, Ministry of Science and Higher Education (N 109214835).

³ ANK, Series of records No. 545: IfDO 1–21.

⁴ ANK, Series of records No. 545: IfDO 1.

in Poland, stores several thousand pages of materials collected during field research as part of the campaign to systematically “describe” several hundred villages in the Subcarpathian region, which are mostly the result of cooperation between the SRV and the Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle (Colonization Office for Ethnic Germany).⁵ This is complemented by various documentation related to the planned SRV inventory checking of the GG folk culture, including, for example, a very extensive questionnaire for the study of material culture prepared by Professor Adam Fischer.⁶ The abovementioned sources, the contents and the circumstances of creation of which will be discussed later in this article, not only will provide an opportunity to broaden knowledge of the ideological assumptions and plans of the SRV, because many publications have already been produced on this subject, largely exhausting the subject (Michel 2000: 149–146; Rybicka 2002; Burleigh 1988: 253–299; Harten 1996: 133–157; and others), but above all it will allow us to get to know the real scope of the research projects carried out by this Nazi institution, also in terms of ethnographic data collection during field research.⁷

THE STRUCTURE AND STAFF OF THE SEKTION RASSEN-UND VOLKSTUMSFORSCHUNG

In our study, we focus mainly on the activity of the Department of Ethnology, however, due to the fact that the scope of activity and composition of the ethnological and anthropological team are not clearly defined and changeable in various periods, it is worthwhile to present basic data on the organisational structure and staffing of the entire SRV.⁸

⁵ IPN GK 113/1–64.

⁶ In the Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw, the team of files of the General Government of the Governorate includes individual IDO documents and a slightly more numerous collection of materials relating to the Hauptabteilung Wissenschaft und Unterricht (General Department of Science and Education), to which the Institute was subject since 1943, but which did not provide any new information on the SRV. In the context of the interests of the authors of the text, only a few documents deserve attention. This is in particular an appendix to the reports prepared by Anton Plügel for the Sanok and Jarosław Museums in the spring of 1940, already known from the collections of the Smithsonian Institution (and discussed in the text included in this volume), in the form of a detailed inventory, and also the plans for the reorganisation of the Tatra Mountains Museum, as well as correspondence and regulations connected with the activity of this institution. AAN Group of Records concerning the Government of the GG, No. 111/1484, 1461.

⁷ See also a comprehensive bibliography of works concerning IDO. Rybicka 2002: 175–186.

⁸ Dr Wilhelm Coblitz, the director of IDO, used the name “Sektion Volkskunde” (Coblitz 1942: 186) to present this institution in the Max du Prel’s publication “Das General-Gouvernement”. When

The available literature mentions that a person responsible for the creation of the SRV was Dr Fritz Arlt, SS-Obersturmbahnführer, the head of the Bevölkerungswesen und Fürsorge (the Population and Welfare Department) in the GG government and the head of the NSDAP training in the GG who headed the section for a couple of months (Harten 1996: 156; Michel 2000: 153; Rybicka 2002: 26–27, 52).⁹ This function – in the early stage of the section’s existence – is also ascribed to Dr Heinrich Kurtz from the Abteilung Volk-saufklärung und Propaganda (the Public Education and Propaganda Department) (Michel 2000: 15; Rybicka 2002: 26, 43).¹⁰ It is also known he was engaged in the organisation of the exhibition “Deutsche Leistung im Weichselraum” (“German Achievements in the Vistula River Basin”), opened on September 1, 1940, as part of celebrations to mark the first anniversary of the outbreak of World War II.¹¹ Kurtz eventually gave up the job at IDO and engaged himself in political activity (Rybicka 2002: 43).¹² In May 1941, Dr Anton Plügel, the then head of the Ethnology Department was appointed the deputy head of the SRV (Michel 2000: 153–156). When he was conscripted into the army a year later, Dr Elfriede Fliethmann, an anthropologist from Vienna, took over his duties in July 1942 for several months. She graduated in geography, history and anthropology, and since she was politically involved, she, among others, conducted training in racial policy for Frauenschaft (the National Socialist Women’s Union), and later worked as a “Regional Race Policy Officer” (Michel 2000: 155). In November 1942, the SRV was headed by Dr Erhard Riemann, a lecturer in folk studies at the Hochschule für Lehrerbildung (Higher Teachers’ College) in Elbląg since 1939, awarded the Ehrenpistole Order of the NSDAP, the Iron Cross of the 2nd class and the Ostmedaille (Eastern Front Medal) (Michel 2000: 156; Rybicka 2002: 36). He also performed this function after IDO had been

discussing the structure of IDO in an article from 1941, four sections – including Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung – do not include the names of the managers. See below, also Coblitz 1941: 8–9.

⁹ Fritz Arlt is an author of the study *Übersicht über die Bevölkerungsverhältnisse im Generalgouvernement. Volkspolitischer Informationsdienst der Regierung des Generalgouvernements Innere Verwaltung Bevölkerungswesen und Fürsorge*, which contains, among others, the chapters: *Die goralische Volksgruppe im GG* and *Die ukrainische Volksgruppe im GG*, with photographs by Heinrich Gottong (Arlt 1940: 43–57).

¹⁰ In other periods this office functioned also as the “Abteilung Propaganda”.

¹¹ Heinrich Kurtz is also an author of the publication connected with the subject of the exhibition and the study concerning the heritage of Cracow as a “German city” (Kurtz 1942: 1–15; Kurtz 1944).

¹² Professor Feliks Kopera, Director of the National Museum, in January 1946, acting as a witness in the trial of Wilhelm Ernst de Palesieux at the Court of Appeal in Cracow, stated, among others: “Dr Heinrich Kurtz, a custodian from Bytom, acted outstandingly to the detriment of Polish culture. He was hostile and brutal and threatened to arrest the workers carrying out their duties”, IPN GK 196/298, p. 236.

evacuated to Bavaria until he was conscripted into the army on December 1, 1944 (Michel 2000: 163).

The Director of IDO, Dr Wilhelm Coblitz, a lawyer, while characterising the structure and the activity of IDO in the periodical titled “Jahrbuch des Instituts für Deutsche Ostarbeit Krakau”, mentions the following departments of the SRV: Referat Anthropologie, Referat Ethnologie and Referat Juden-forschung (Coblitz 1941: 14).¹³ Still in October 1942, Fliethmann, while presenting the work of the Section, uses the above names of the departments.¹⁴ In a report drawn up at the beginning of 1943 by Riemann, two of them appear under a changed name: Rassenforschung (Racial Research) and Volksstums-forschung (Folklore Studies). The change of name was connected with the reorganisation of the SRV, which was to distinguish between the two departments in terms of content and personnel, and in the future – “after the end of the war” – to transform them into independent, separate sections.¹⁵

The IDO's personnel composition indicated its strong ties with the government units of the GG and the authorities of the Cracow district (Rybicka 2002: 27–28; Michel 2000: 151–152). At the SRV, too, the management of the individual departments was entrusted to people who had already worked in various offices of the German administration: Dr Heinrich Gottong, who took over the management of the Department of Anthropology created in October 1940, had previously been employed as the Jewish Officer at the Abteilung Bevölkerungswesen und Fürsorge (Population and Social Welfare Department). Dr Anton Plügel joined the Department of Ethnology of the Abteilung Wissenschaft und Unterricht (Division of Science and Education), which was established in April 1941 by the head of the district of Cracow (Rybicka 2002: 51; Michel 2000: 153). Dr Josef Sommerfeld, head of the Department for Research on Jews, was previously employed at the Abteilung Gesetzgebung (Legislative Division) in the GG government (Rybicka 2002: 50). Young external researchers have been recruited as assistants and auxiliary employees. The assistant, first at the Department of Ethnology and later at the Department of Race

¹³ Coblitz, while holding the post of the Director of IDO, was at the same time a member of the Council of Experts of the Frankfurt-based Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage (Institute for Research of the Jewish Issue) (Harten 1996: 153).

¹⁴ *Arbeitsbericht der Sektion für Rassen- und Volksstumsforschung*, Krakau, den 20. Oktober 1942. E. Fliethmann, Typed manuscript, 10 pp., the National Archives Cracow, IfDO 21: 1077–1095. See also the unsigned document coming, as follows from the content, from 1942: *Entwurf. Das Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit*. Typed manuscript, 3 pp., ANK Record Group No. 545, IfDO 21: 2113–2117.

¹⁵ *Arbeitsbericht der Sektion Rassen- und Volksstumsforschung*, Krakau, den 7. Juli 1943. E. Riemann, Typed manuscript, 8 pp., A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 01/01/09.

Research, was Dr Elfriede Fliethmann, an anthropologist, who had already graduated from the University of Vienna. Dr Ingeborg Sydow, an ethnologist from Berlin, became Gottong's assistant and was later transferred to the Department of Ethnicity Research (Rybicka 2002: 51–52). Unlike her colleagues at the SRV, she was not politically involved (Michel 2000: 155). Dr Dora Kahlich-Koenner from the Institute of Anthropology in Vienna was also employed at the SRV for some time. She carried out anthropological measurements of the Jewish population in Tarnów together with Fliethmann in the spring of 1942 and joined the research team in Haczów in the summer of the same year. In 1943, Elisabeth Nonnenmacher and Rudolf Stark from Vienna, among others, who specialised in developing family genealogies, are also mentioned as research auxiliaries (Bałuk-Ulewiczowa 2004: 87).¹⁶

As far as the Lviv Branch of IDO is concerned, established after Eastern Galicia was incorporated into the GG, the Volks- und Volkstumskunde Polens und der Ukraine (Department of National and Cultural Research of Poland and Ukraine) was established there, among others.¹⁷ the management was entrusted to Plügel and Gottong and, as one of the reports points out, due to difficulties in finding the right professionals, the German officers were to stay in Lviv for a few weeks alternately. The Lviv branch was to focus primarily on research into the history, culture and geography of Galicia.¹⁸

Due to its exceptional importance, the SRV was allocated the biggest number of employees, although it fluctuated over time. Sources usually mention 31 or 35 people (Harten 1996: 153; Michel 2000: 152).¹⁹ Taking over the management of the section at the end of 1942, Riemann reports 31 full-time posts, including 23 for Polish auxiliary researchers – *Polnische Hilfskräfte, Wissenschaftliche Hilfskräfte*.²⁰ Similar data can be found in the Report no. 1 on the works and

¹⁶ See also *Personalaufstellung der Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung am Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit in Krakau*. Typed manuscript, 2 pp., A UJ, "Old IDO", Box 71 (no page numbering).

¹⁷ IDO's Lviv branch has not yet lived to see a comprehensive study. Its staffing and structure are briefly described in Rybicka's study (2002: 56–58). A small fragment concerning this institution can also be found in the work devoted to the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv (Draus 2007: 130–132). Several hundred pages of documents related to the activity of the Lviv branch are held in the Archives of the Jagiellonian University, "Old IDO", Box 37–39.

¹⁸ *Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Lemberger Zweigstelle des Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit in den ersten beiden Monaten ihres Bestehens, Lemberg, den 6. Januar 1942* (author missing), Typed manuscript, 5 pp., ANK, Series of records No. 545, IDO 21: 1499–1503.

¹⁹ The document *Personalaufstellung der Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung am Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit in Krakau*, undated, but probably reflecting the goals Riemann planned to achieve after the reform of the section, thus prepared probably at the beginning of 1943. Typed manuscript, 2 pp., A UJ, "Old IDO", Box 71 (no page numbering).

²⁰ Ibid.

activities of the Section on Race and Ethnicity Research of the Institute for German Work in the East (Sektion Rassen- u. Volkstumsforschung), quoted in full in Teresa Bałuk-Ulewicz's book, prepared for the Polish underground authorities (as its content shows, it covers 1942 and 1943), as well as in several other documents of this type quoted by the author (Bałuk-Ulewiczowa 2004: 33, 38–46, 79–97).

As for Poles employed in the SRV, German documents usually gave only their total number. Only three documents contain names and, for some of them, the nature of the work carried out is provided. When presenting the structure and personnel composition of the SRV, taking into account the situation in the second half of 1942 (before Riemann took up the position of the SRV's head), it was stated that the number of employed persons was 30.²¹ In the Department of Anthropology, apart from Gottong and Sydow, there was only one Polish employee at the time, an anthropologist, Dr Bronisław Jasicki. Apart from Plügel and Fliethmann, the Ethnology Department consisted of two German auxiliary workers and seven Poles. A further seven persons were assigned to the "Messgruppe" (measurement group), among others doctors delegated to IDO by Gesundheitskammer GG (Medical Doctors' Chamber) for medical examinations, Dr Bolesław Siwiński (a doctor of a psychiatric hospital in Łódź, displaced to Cracow) and two medical students.²² In the Department of Research on Jews the only name found in the documents from that time is Josef Sommerfeld.²³ This list also includes the names of Professor Adam Fischer and Dr Wilhelm Tabor, ethnographers of the Lviv branch. The second document, dating back to the beginning of 1943, includes 35 people, but the former Department of Ethnology, renamed the Department of Ethnicity Studies, has a very limited composition, because apart from Plügel and Sydow, a Polish translator is also mentioned, as are four people from the Lviv branch working for this department. Most of the people assigned to this department in the previous document are already listed in the Department of Ethnicity Studies. Only Marian Plezia (archive and library) and Tadeusz Kantor (draftsman)

²¹ *Aufbau und Personalstand der Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung* – no date and author but it follows from the content that the document gives an accurate picture of the personnel before the management of the Section was taken over by Riemann, hence in October 1942 at the latest. In the case of Gottong and Plügel – an annotation that they currently serve in Wehrmacht. Typed manuscript, 2 pp., A UJ, "Old IDO", Box 70 (no page numbering).

²² A letter with a list of delegated persons addressed to Anton Plügel, A UJ, "Old IDO", Box 70 (no page numbering).

²³ In hand, however, Sommerfeld's wife and the name of a volksdeutsch, mgr Richard Böhm were added.

were mentioned as working for the entire section. In addition to the German staff, the Department of Research on Jews also employed five Poles.²⁴ These data are supplemented by information that from April 1 until October 31, 1943, additionally five Polish and five German ethnographers would be employed and that the same number of Polish photographers would be employed in connection with the planned great action of ethnicity research in the GG. These plans were not implemented. The third document, which discusses the activity of the SRV and was prepared, as it would appear from the content at the beginning of 1944, mentions only 12 people for the entire section (Gotong and Plügel were still included), including six Polish employees.²⁵ All the names of Poles from the SRV mentioned in German lists are also included in reports prepared for the Polish underground authorities, quoted in Bałuk-Ulewicz's work, as well as in the list published in Rybicka's work (2002: 165–173; Bałuk-Ulewiczowa 2004: 32–97).

We should also mention here the large number of people temporarily cooperating with the SRV, providing consultations or participating in some projects, including field research projects. For example, Juliusz Zborowski, as the director of the Museum of Tatra Mountains, was delegated by his superior to help the team conducting field research in Szaflary. He was also obliged to provide information and access to museum collections for publications prepared by the section, which both Plügel and Sydow, as well as Riemann, will use in particular, and which will be discussed further below. Roman Reinfuss, described in German documents as the administrator of the collection of the Wawel Castle Ethnographic Museum, also acted as a consultant, and is cited by Riemann, among others, as having information in the field of folk culture.²⁶ He also probably accompanied Plügel during his trip to the vicinity of Sanok in 1940.²⁷ According to a report prepared for the Polish underground by one of the Poles working for IDO, Reinfuss "provides explanations on issues related to the Lemko region" (Bałuk-Ulewiczowa 2004: 87). However, it should

²⁴ *Personalaufstellung der Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung am Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit in Krakau*. Typed manuscript, 2 pp., A UJ, "Old IDO", Box 71 (no page numbering).

²⁵ The document *Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung* (no date and author). It follows from the information contained in it that it was prepared at the beginning of 1944 at the earliest by E. Riemann. Typed manuscript, 4 pp., A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 01/01/15.

²⁶ Riemann refers to the information from Roman Reinfuss, for example in his correspondence with the Museum in Nowy Sącz and the University Library in Poznań, which he maintained in search of exhibits for the exhibition *Deutsches Volkstum im Generalgouvernement* organised by the SRV. See Riemann's correspondence, A UJ, "Old IDO", Box 71 (no page numbering).

²⁷ It is highly probable that it is Roman Reinfuss who is photographed together with Anton Plügel and several inhabitants of Nowotaniec.

be noted here that the museums within the administrative structure of the GG were subordinate to the Hauptabteilung Wissenschaft und Unterricht (Main Faculty of Science and Education). IDO was also assigned there in the GG's financial plans.²⁸ At the beginning of 1943, this dependence was further consolidated, as the status of the institute had changed. By a decree of Hans Frank, he had already been formally subordinated to this department. Article I(1) of that Regulation states: "The legal relations of the Institute for German Work in the East shall be modified so that its independent legal personality as a corporation governed by public law shall cease to exist" and Article II(2): "The Institute for German Work in the East is an establishment under the authority of the Generalgouvernement (The Main Division of Science and Education)".²⁹ As a result of these relationships arising from the structure of the German administration of the GG, museum staff were obliged to support certain projects undertaken by IDO in case of need. Probably also on this principle an employee of the Archaeological Museum, Dr Rudolf Jamka, who in 1942 took part in the excavations in Szaflary, which were carried out in this town in parallel with the anthropological and ethnographical research, is on the list of persons employed in the Prehistoric Section of IDO at some point in time.³⁰

Anthropologists and ethnologists from the SRV also established contacts with local regionalists, teachers and other people who could provide information about the communities studied. In many cases it was a cooperation forced by the war situation. The local German administration even obliged village heads, mayors and school leaders to assist in conducting the research, as evidenced by the preserved documentation. According to the reports from the field work, as well as according to the correspondence conducted with such persons, both their knowledge of folk culture and their photographic documentation were used. This was the case, for example, with Adam Wójcik, an amateur teacher and ethnographer whose photographs from the 1930s were added to the SRV archives.³¹

²⁸ See *Gliederung des Haushalts des Generalgouvernements für das Rechnungsjahr 1941*, Einzelpart VII: Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung (later renamed to Wissenschaft und Unterricht). The same goes for a similar plan for 1942, published by Regierung des Generalgouvernements Hauptabteilung Finanzen, Krakau, den 6. Dezember 1941.

²⁹ See *Verordnungsblatt für das Generalgouvernement, Dziennik Rozporządzeń dla Generalnego Gubernatorstwa*, Ausgeben zu Krakau, den 5. Februar 1943, No. 7 – where Hans Frank's regulation of January 20, 1943 is published. IPN GK 196/300.

³⁰ See for instance *Tätigkeitsmerkmale der in der Sektion Vorgesichte angestellten Kräfte*, Krakau, den 11. Juni 1942 (no author). The National Archives, IfDO 21: 1505.

³¹ Duszeńko-Król writes more about Adam Wójcik and his photographs both in his book on the IDO photo collection (Duszeńko 2014: 191–193) and in the text published in this volume.

It is worth noting that the Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance – Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation, the Document Access and Archivisation Bureau in Cracow contain extensive documentation concerning Poles employed by IDO, collected by the team of archivists in 2003–2004.³² This is the result of queries conducted in May 2003 in connection with the appointment by Leon Kieres, President of the Institute of National Remembrance – the Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation (IPN-KŚZpNP), of a team to investigate the role of professors at the Jagiellonian University in the works of the Ost-Institut during World War II. This was related to the controversies that arose after the publication of Anetta Rybicka's book on IDO and press publications concerning some of the content contained in it. The lists drawn up by the Commission for the IPN include, as far as possible, 230 names of persons who, at various times and in various capacities, have been employed by the IPN (including both auxiliary researchers and technical and administrative staff). Compared to the list drawn up by Rybicka, there are several dozen more names here, and, moreover, they are mostly supplemented with data concerning the period and possible nature of employment and contain a link to all documents in which information concerning this particular person can be found. Extensive material has been collected, which undoubtedly makes it possible to clarify and supplement data concerning, in particular, the Polish staff of the Institute. The studies on the activities of IDO emphasize that the employment of such a relatively large group of Poles in a German institution was conditioned by the nature and multiplicity of tasks that it was supposed to perform, as well as, to a large extent, the lack of knowledge of Polish in the case of German and Austrian researchers. This necessitated the use of the experience and skills of a large group of local scientists and technical staff.³³ Needless to say, all management positions were allocated exclusively to Germans or Austrians, not only in the individual sections, but also within the departments.³⁴

³² Archives, Document Access and Archivisation Bureau in Cracow, the Institute of National Remembrance – Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation (IPN-KŚZpNP), *Kwerendy problemowe* (Subject Queries), 2003, 3/33, vol. 1–16.

³³ The question of employing a large group of Polish staff is addressed by Krzysztof Stopka in an article published in this volume, as well as by G. Schafft in his monographs (2004: 97; 2006: 89–90).

³⁴ The IPN GK resources include a list of 21 Polish employees of IDO, mainly from the *Sektion Landeskunde* (Regional and Cultural Studies Section), as of January 1945, which could indicate that after the Institute's evacuation to Bavaria they were still formally employed at the Institute. IPN GK 113/66.

As far as Polish scientists are concerned, we limit ourselves to quoting the above data, and we do not undertake to discuss the motivations or to determine the circumstances of the decisions to join IDO. In our publications, we will find divergent opinions on this matter. As we know, on the one hand, there was the accusation of reprehensible cooperation with the occupying forces, and on the other hand, many scientists presented evidence that this work was a task entrusted to them by the Polish underground state.³⁵ the element of coercion towards Polish specialists from various fields, forced by the Germans to cooperate in science and resulting from the war and occupation situation, was also emphasized.³⁶ In this context, it is all the more worth mentioning that despite such pressure there were people who openly rejected the offer to take up employment in this Nazi institution.

Henryk Barycz, a doctor of philosophy and archivist of the Jagiellonian University, justified his rejection of the German proposal in this way:

I have not changed my view on this matter, although on one hand, one of the leading Polish scientists has made an appeal, directly, to take up this work, motivated by the need to maintain scientific efficiency and not to waste any energy in other unproductive activities. Despite my enthusiasm and readiness to devote all my energies to science, I was unable to undertake the activities a was disgusted with (Michalewicz 2005: 885).

Professor Zdzisław Jachimecki, the head of the Seminar on the History and Theory of Music, in August 1943 urged by the “officer of the government itself” to organize a musicological faculty at IDO, said:

In a long conversation with this gentleman I managed to expound all the reasons, which make any cooperation with Germans impossible for us. I dared to bring all the most important charges against him, starting with the arresting of professors, round-ups, shooting, falsification of history and extermination orders. I have not left any issue out. He tried to justify this and that, but he went out with nothing. I expected some consequences of my *j'accuse*, but none of them occurred (Michalewicz 2005: 777)³⁷.

³⁵ Compare in particular the views expressed in A. Rybicka's work, chapter “Poles at the Institute” (2002: 139–159) with theses presented by Bałuk-Ulewicz in her book (2004).

³⁶ Also for instance Schafft underlined this while discussing the circumstances of employing Polish IDO employees (Schafft 2006: 90).

³⁷ See below: Stanisław Maria Kutrzeby, Michał Patkowski, Jan Zaćwilichowski, Kazimierz Stołyhwo, Roman Grodecki (Michalewicz 2005: 47, 58, 337, 497, 662–663) and Stanisław Leszczycki (Leszczycki

Let us add that the documentation collected by the Staff of the Archives, Document Access and Archivisation Bureau, the Institute of National Remembrance – Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation (Polish abbreviation: IPN-KŚZpNP OBUiAD) in Cracow contains a copy of a letter of September 15, 1959, directed to Department II of the Ministry of Home Affairs in Warsaw by the Head of Division II of the Security Service at the Voivodeship Command of the Citizens' Militia (SB KW MO) in Cracow, which provides information gathered on the activity of IDO (referred to there as the "Institute for the Investigation of Eastern Matters"), particularly by German art historians: Dr E. Behrens and Dr H. Weidhas.³⁸ The author of the report briefly characterised the institute's structure and research, basing it, as can be inferred from the content, among others, on accounts given by Polish scientists working at IDO and ending this fragment with a statement: "By its very nature the whole activity was permeated with fascist ideology and antisemitism".³⁹ He further refers to a statement by Dr Jan Sehn, member of the Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland (then head of the Institute of Judicial Expertise in Cracow), who stated that since the Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit was not considered a criminal organisation, the case of IDO had not been considered by the Commission separately, but together with the case of the so-called GG Government.⁴⁰ The report of Division II contains also the information that interviews with former Polish employees of IDO are being conducted. It also contains the following announcement:

1991: 18). Jan Draus, in a publication devoted to the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv in 1918–1946, in a short chapter concerning the Lviv branch of IDO, notes the diverse attitude of Polish scholars towards the offer of employment in this German institution, referring to the surviving reports of the Head of Lviv Information and Propaganda Bureau of the Area Command of the Union of Armed Struggle – the Home Army (ZWZ AK). He also points out that despite the fact that some of the persons employed in IDO cooperated at the same time with the Polish educational underground, the Lviv leadership of Civil Struggle stated in December 1942 that Polish scientific research workers and administrative employees of the Institute „commit crime against the national cause and Polish science” (Draus 2007: 130–132).

³⁸ IPN-KŚZpNP OBUiAD in Cracow, Subject queries (theme queries), 2003, 3/33, vol. 8.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid. It is worth noting, however, that at the General Assembly of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences on July 19, 1945, it was decided unanimously to submit a motion to the government for the inclusion in the list of persons tried by the "international tribunal" of the names of the criminals responsible for the occupational repression of scholars, including W. Coblitz as "the head of the Ost-Institute in Cracow" and Adolf Watzke as the head of the Education Department of the GG Government, "who exterminated Polish science and education (Hübner 1994: 20).

We are going to conduct interviews on this subject with Tadeusz Kantor, a well-known artist and painter from Cracow, who only recently returned from his trip to France, and with the Jagiellonian University Professor Dobrowolski and Dr Seweryn, the Director of the Ethnographic Museum, who also worked at the Institute during the occupation. We will additionally inform you about the results of these interviews.⁴¹

Did Tadeusz Kantor, who was a draughtsman at the SRV from September 1, 1942 to March 31, 1943, give any evidence on this issue, we have not yet been able to determine.⁴² The other two, on the other hand, were mistakenly assigned employment at IDO.

THE ETHNOLOGY DEPARTMENT

Ute Michel in his introduction to a very interesting reflection on IDO as a scientific institution adapted directly to the needs of German politics in occupied Poland, focuses primarily on the issue of academic ethnology representation in the structures of power and the special significance of ethnological knowledge for the implementation of the objectives of the national policy in Poland conquered by the Germans. Michel points out that the text is limited to the ethnological aspect, as it has not been included in the already rich literature on IDO. He tries to answer the question why in his vision of the Institute the government of the GG placed a special emphasis on the use of ethnology and what for did this apparatus of power, equipped with extremely broad powers, need science at all (Michel 2000: 140–150). Confronted with opinions expressed by other authors, he claims that the analysis of the Ethnology Departments' activity presented by her does not support the claim that we were dealing with "National Socialist ethnology". He stresses that the fact that Plügel, Sydow and other scientists assumed a cause and effect relationship between race and culture and thus constructed a theorem of the historical continuity of German influences and the supremacy of German culture is, unfortunately, not a characteristic premise of National Socialism alone (Michel 2000: 164).

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² The date of employment is contained in the materials collected at the Institute of National Remembrance IPN-KŚZpNP OBUiAD in Cracow, and in the IDO documents – a letter expressing consent to the transfer of Tadeusz Kantor to the Staatstheater des Generalgouvernements on April 1, 1943. A UJ, "Old IDO", Box 71 (no page numbering).

As can be seen from the text, Michel did not yet know the documentation contained in the archives of the Smithsonian Institution. The sources on which it was based were, above all, those preserved in the German archives, as well as in the Archives of the Jagiellonian University – “Old IDO”, including correspondence, individual documents and reports on her work and SRV plans, publications by ethnologists and anthropologists employed there. They make it possible to reconstruct the basic organisational structure of the SRV, outline the profiles of its German employees and indicate the main areas of their activities, which the author does. It also provides a basis for reflection on IDO as a tool for establishing a “new ethnic order” and the related selection of the population of occupied Poland, which at that time, as the author emphasizes, was a kind of experimental field in this area (Michel 2000: 156). In constructing her very interesting argument, Michel was nonetheless aware of certain limitations due to source material deficiencies (2000: 164). In fact, it is only by disclosing extensive documentation from the Smithsonian Institution that we can gain an insight into the actual scope of our research, research tools and results of field exploration of ethnographers and anthropologists from the SRV, although a thorough review of the collection shows that there are large gaps in it, and we still do not have the entire archival resources of the sections.

For the first time, on the basis of these materials, the activities of the SRV were discussed by Gretchen Schafft in her book *From Racism to Genocide. Anthropology in the Third Reich*, which appeared a few years after the publication of Ute Michel’s text (Schafft 2004: 86–106). However, it is only an indication of the basic facts concerning the organisation and main directions of research carried out in the section. The detailed analysis of Washington’s documentation, as well as other dispersed source resources mentioned above, carried out by the team of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology (IEiAK) employees of the Jagiellonian University, provides us with a broader knowledge of the research conducted by ethnologists and its results. Here we focus mainly on the Department of Ethnology, but we will often refer to the materials collected within the Department of Anthropology. Until Riemann took over the management of the SRV, as it was already mentioned, the scopes of activity of both departments were not clearly separated, as she points out in one of her first reports.⁴³ the conviction that a comprehensive study of selected communities in the GG area was necessary,

⁴³ *Arbeitsbericht der Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung*, Krakau, den 7. Juli 1943. E. Riemann, Typed manuscript, 8 pp., A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 01/01/09.

especially the assumption of racial and cultural relations, as well as probably organisational considerations, meant that ethnographers' and anthropologists' teams often acted together. It should also be noted that some versions of the questionnaires filled in during the anthropological measurements contain additional data about the examined person or his/her family, valuable for the ethnographic description of the examined community. Many photographs taken by teams representing other IDO sections have a similar value. Examples include photographs taken by anthropometric data collectors in many GG locations by Fliethmann's and Gottong's anthropologists, as well as by Gisela Hildebrandt and Hans Graul from the Landeskunde Sektion (the Department of Country Studies).⁴⁴

ANTON PLÜGEL

The first director of the Department of Ethnology, established in April 1941, was Dr Anton Plügel, an ethnologist from Vienna, who had already been mentioned. Before joining IDO, he had been an official in the *Abteilung Schulwesen beim Chef des Distrikts Krakau Gruppe Kunst, Museen und Sammlungen Referat Musealwesen* (Schooling Department of the Head of the Cracow District Group of Art, Museums and Collections, Museums Department), renamed shortly afterwards as *Abteilung Kultur und Unterricht* (Department of Culture and Education), and finally *Abteilung Wissenschaft und Unterricht* (Department of Science and Education), for over a year, from January 17, 1940, when he arrived in Cracow.⁴⁵ His biography, including his scientific and political career until his appearance in Poland, is presented in more detail in a separate publication by Lisa Gottschall published in this volume. Ute Michel (2000: 53–154, 160–161) also devotes a great deal of time to it. Here we will focus on his work in the above mentioned office, as well as in the SRV, basing our analysis primarily on sources that both authors could not have known yet.

Washington materials contain extensive documentation, mainly in the form of photographs and surveys from anthropological research, which can be attributed to Plügel, but it must be stressed that it comes almost entirely from

⁴⁴ In Polish publications the name of the section is usually "Sekcja Krajoznawcza" or "Geograficzna".

⁴⁵ Before it was eventually named the *Abteilung Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, for some time it functioned as the *Abteilung Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung* (the Department of Science, Upbringing and Public Education) (Pospieszalski 1958: 61).

1940. It is therefore likely that Plügel included these materials in the SRV archives since he joined IDO.⁴⁶

His quite abundant correspondence from the time when he was deputy head of the SRV, conducted with various institutions in occupied Poland and the Reich, as well as reports on the work and plans of the entire section or only the Department of Ethnology, prepared by him in the period from July 1941 to April 1942, have also been preserved. In the case of Plügel's publications from the World War II, the main points of reference are those of the article *Das Rassenbild des Vorfeldes im deutschen Osten*, published in the NSDAP organ *Das Vorfeld* (Plügel 1941a). It "shows" there, among other things, the cultural and racial inferiority of the Polish nation:

The Eastern race did not create its own creative culture. All prehistoric cultures originate either from the Nordic or from the South-Eastern region. (...) Apart from the problem of imported cultural goods, it should be noted that the vast majority of people show no interest in anything, live without reflection from day to day, and suffer from a huge inferiority complex. In their own society, they take a slavish attitude towards those who are highly-placed, and towards another nation whose achievements they must accept, whether they want it or not, they feel animal hatred. (...) the attitude that the Polish nation took in 1939 is deeply rooted in its racial substance (...) It is a rebellion of the *Untermensch* against those in whom he instinctively senses his master (Plügel 1941a: 14–15).

In our opinion, the new source material provides an opportunity to supplement Plügel's image as an ethnologist, and the study summarising his interest in the culture of the Podhale highlanders, published in three parts in the journal "Die Burg", allows us to assess to what extent the above views expressed in the propaganda text written at the beginning of his stay in Poland, are also reflected in the ethnicity studies' sketch, as he described it, which is the result of his many weeks' field exploration and direct contact with the object of his interest – the inhabitants of Podhale (Plügel 1942b: 246).

One of the first tasks that Plügel was entrusted with as a museums officer at the *Abteilung Kultur und Unterricht* was to make an assessment of the condition of the collections of several regional museums in southern Poland, which was discussed in more detail in a separate study published in this volume. As

⁴⁶ Michel refers to information in Plügel's personal file showing that he had been involved in ethnicity studies for several months when he started working for IDO (Michel 2000: 153). The materials collected at the Smithsonian Institution fully confirm this.

part of this action, he had the opportunity to become acquainted with the collections of the Tatra Mountains Museum, where in May 1940 he conducted an inspection and prepared a reorganization plan for the exhibition. Dr Juliusz Zborowski was left as the director in the Tatra Mountains Museum. It can be assumed that he passed the racial verification announced by the Germans. As a side note to the plan to reorganize the museum exhibition, the "Call for Proof of Aryan Descent" addressed to Julian Zborowski and his wife is presented.⁴⁷ A questionnaire establishing Zborowski's family genealogy has also been preserved in Washington's collections, which includes a question about people of German and Jewish origin next to each member of the family.⁴⁸

The collection of the Tatra Mountains Museum was supposed to be an important source for Plügel for a publication devoted to Podhale highlanders. Plügel undoubtedly visited the Tatra Museum several times, probably for the first time carrying out the aforementioned inspection. In a letter sent from Zakopane on May 9, 1940, to his superior Adolf Watzke, the head of Abteilung Kultur und Unterricht, to which he attached a plan for the reorganization of the Tatra Mountains Museum, he mentions that in order to carry it out, the collections and archives of the museum will not be enough, but thorough anthropological works in the villages, as well as ethnicity studies' photographs and acquisition of exhibits especially in the field of folklore will be necessary. "This is what we will have to do in the coming, nicer time of the year. Up to now, bad weather has allowed only very limited work to be carried out in this area."⁴⁹ the implementation of these plans is evidenced by the documentation of pilot anthropological measurements carried out in Podhale in 1940 under his direction (on the basis of many details recorded in photographs, it can be assumed that they were carried out from late spring to autumn). While already working for IDO, he obtained permission from Wilhelm Coblitz for another week-long trip to the Tatra Mountains Museum in July 1941, in order to collect material for publications on Podhale.⁵⁰ Among the archives transferred from Washington are photographs of more than 1,500 exhibits of the Podhale and Carpathian folk culture and more than 500 reproductions

⁴⁷ A short description of the proposal for a new exhibition of the Tatra Mountains Museum, 1 page without a title, attached to the document *Planung für die Neuaufstellung des Tatra-Museums in Zakopane* dated May 15, 1940, signed by Plügel. Typed manuscript, 8 pp., A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 01/04/02.

⁴⁸ A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 56/10/053–062.

⁴⁹ A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 01/04/02.

⁵⁰ The Society of Friends of Fine Arts in Cracow – the K. Estreicher's Archives (documents with call numbers).

of photographs from museum collections taken by Plügel himself or prepared to his orders and in accordance with his instructions. In his report on the activity of the Ethnological Department of July 1941, in which he mentions as one of his most important tasks the creation of a photographic base in the field of race and ethnicity studies, he mentions the fact that over 5,000 photographs had already been taken then in Podhale.⁵¹ Plügel is particularly interested in highlanders' metal short clips. In his sketch he did not devote much attention to them, but he announced the preparation of a separate publication on the subject.⁵² At his request, Zborowski ordered the compilation of a list of all shirt pins (brooches for fastening shirts) that had been donated or purchased for the collection of the Tatra Mountains Museum in Zakopane until April 1939.⁵³ Probably Plügel should also be credited with creating a file of 638 metal shirt pins and several buckles for fastening a *cucha* (a kind of a highlanders' coat), leather bags and harnesses, which is in the Washington collection. An inventory card with one or two photographs, details of the manufacturer, the date of purchase and the original museum inventory number recorded was created for each exhibit. The Tatra Mountains Museum did not keep such cards of exhibits and does not have them.⁵⁴ The fact that Plügel worked on this subject is also evidenced by his correspondence with Juliusz Zborowski, for example in a letter dated January 21, 1941, he thanked Zborowski for a copy of his article published in "Lud" (People), which, as he points out, contains "material very important for continuing work on pins for fastening shirts".⁵⁵ In another letter to Zborowski dated May 12, 1941, as the head of the Department of Ethnology, he asked for additional information concerning, among other things, the method of acquiring

⁵¹ *Arbeitsbericht und Planung des Referat Ethnologie*, Krakau, im Juli 1941. A. Plügel, Typed manuscript, 9 pp., ANK, Series of records No. 545, IfDO 21: 1377–1395.

⁵² ANK, Series of records No. 545, IfDO 21: 1449–1451.

⁵³ According to the information provided by an employee of the Tatra Mountains Museum, Zofia Rak, there is no such list in the documentation of the institution. Although Juliusz Zborowski already wrote in 1928 about the inventory of pins prepared by Jadwiga and Włodzimierz Antoniewicz, we do not know what form it took (a kind of book or card file) – the museum does not possess such an inventory. See the 1928/1929 Tatra Mountains Museum annual report (Zborowski 1929: 154–169).

⁵⁴ Museum objects' cards and an inventory book were introduced only in the first half of the 1950s. Until then as far as the collection documentation was concerned only the Register of the Section A Collection Numbering and Juliusz Zborowski's Card Inventory were available. Information provided by an employee of the Tatra Mountains Museum, Zofia Rak.

⁵⁵ The reference is made to an article "Ludoznawcze przyczynki z góralszczyzny. Spinki metalowe góralskie. Uzupełnienia do rozprawy Wł. Antoniewicza" (Contributions to Ethnicity Studies from Highlanders' Culture. Addenda to the Dissertation by Wł. Antoniewicz), "Lud", Vol. 31, 1932, pp. 65–92, Letter from Plügel to Juliusz Zborowski, of January 21, 1941, AMT Wallet: 62/A/II/a.

skills in making metal buckles and pins by craftsmen from the Podhale region.⁵⁶ Just before his appointment to the Wehrmacht, Plügel sent a letter to several museums in the Reich, looking for comparative materials in connection with the preparation of a study on metal decorations in the Carpathians.⁵⁷ Plügel also repeatedly asked Zborowski questions about other areas of the Podhale folk culture, especially about literature and source documentation.⁵⁸ Copies of his letters and answers sent by Zborowski show that the exchange of correspondence lasted at least until the beginning of February 1942. The content of the letters confirms that Zborowski has given Plügel professional guidance on a number of occasions. It is worth noting that in his correspondence with Zborowski Plügel retains a very polite form and its tone is much different from the one of the “commanding” letters containing orders and addressed to the Director of the Tatra Mountains Museum by his superiors.⁵⁹ It was probably Plügel or his accompanying photographer who, during one of his stays in Zakopane, recorded Zborowski on a colour slide leaning over the plants in the now non-existent alpine park located by the museum building. In his publication about highlanders from Podhale, Plügel expressed his appreciation of Zborowski:

On the basis of the existing works it is not possible to create an ethnic image of Podhale, because we are dealing with many gaps, which only need to be filled by field research. Moreover, when compiling an ethnicity studies’ monograph, one should thoroughly get acquainted with the material which is the subject of research and the life of a given group of people. As far as the material is concerned, we can find a lot in the Tatra Mountains Museum, based on the private collections of J. Zborowski, which he collected with great diligence and expertise. Individual groups of subjects are represented surprisingly abundantly. The visited villages show that there are hardly any objects that are not represented in the Museum (Plügel 1942a: 94–95).

Juliusz Zborowski mentioned the interest of ethnologists from IDO in the institution that he headed in only one publication referring to the time of World War II: “German residents of the war times weren’t guests – they were

⁵⁶ File AMT: 62/A/II/; File: 62/A/II/a.

⁵⁷ The letter of April 27, 1942, A UJ, “Old IDO”, Box 70 (no page numbering).

⁵⁸ Cf. e.g. letters of November 5, 1941 and February 4, 1942, A UJ, “Old IDO”, Box 70 (no page numbering).

⁵⁹ Cf. e.g. letters directed to Juliusz Zborowski by Heinz Peter from Abteilung Kultur und Unterricht, of July 31, 1940, and Adolf Watzke of March 3, 1940. AMT, File: 62/A/II/a.

intruders, regardless of their attitude to Polish science and to our Museum. In total: two people dealing with ethnicity studies, two accompanying people and a dozen or so days. Our 'Grand' certainly did not invite these tenants" (Zborowski 1972: 273).

It seems, however, that this observation concerned only stays in museum guest rooms. In the light of the documents obtained, however, it appears that the scope of these forced contacts was much broader and did not concern Plügel alone. In June 1942 Juliusz Zborowski was sent by Dr K. Novotny, Referent für Musealangelegenheiten im Distrikt Krakau (Museum Affairs Officer in the Cracow District), for six weeks "to carry out ethnicity studies in the Nowy Targ District", which was to support the team of the ethnographer Dr Ingeborg Sydow.⁶⁰ One of the photographs taken at the time shows Zborowski against the background of the church in Szaflary. Let us add that Riemann also corresponded with the director of the Tatra Mountains Museum, asking for information on the Podhale folklore (Bałuk-Ulewiczowa 2004: 84).

In 1940 Plügel managed and actively participated in pilot anthropological studies in the Podhale region. Surveys with basic anthropometric data have been preserved for 168 people, whole families or groups of children at a certain age from the villages: Bukowina Tatrzańska, Kościelisko, Murzasichle, Poronin, and Zakopane.⁶¹ the famous director and photographer from Zakopane, Adam Krzeptowski, and members of Julian Krzeptowski's family, brother Waclaw, were subjected to such measurements. There was also interest in students and teachers of the Zakopane Wood Industry Vocational School, which during the Nazi occupation was called the Berufsfachschule für Góralische Volkskunst (Vocational School of Highlanders' Folk Art).⁶² A comprehensive personal data file covering the years 1929–1940 was created at that time.⁶³

⁶⁰ The letter of K. Novotny of June 15, 1942. A UJ, "Old IDO", Box 70 (no page numbering).

⁶¹ Serial numbers, which were given to the examined, indicate that the first measurements were made in Bukowina Tatrzańska: 26 persons – one family and 19 children aged 12–13. Then: Murzasichle – 7 people from two families; Poronin – 18 people, mostly students aged 8–9 from the local school; Kościelisko – 64 people from over a dozen families; Zakopane – 41 people from several families, where for six people there are no data from the measurements, only sets of photographs have been preserved. In addition, 13 surveys conducted among the Berufsfachschule für Góralische Volkskunst pupils survived.

⁶² This name is usually given in publications devoted to the World War II period in Podhale (see e.g. Jost 2001: 111). On the other hand, the school identity card from the time of the Nazi occupation, which one of the pupils of that time kept, bears the name "Staatliche Berufsfachschule für Góralische Volkskunst in Zakopane. State Vocational School for Highlanders' Folk Art in Zakopane" (Card No. 146, copy in the possession of the authors of this articles).

⁶³ The numbering of the cards shows that the records included at least 411 graduates of the school. However, only a part of this file has been preserved. A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 53/02-11.

A set of photographs was also taken for a selected group of students and teachers according to the standard adopted for “racial” surveys. The fact that Plügel took a direct part in this action is evidenced by several photographs taken at that time, in which, according to our findings, its appearance was recorded in situations connected with field research or during anthropological measurements themselves. Most of them are provided in this volume. In the study on the Podhale highlanders, published at the time when Plügel was the head of the Department of Ethnology, there is a fragment that can complete the picture of his field penetrations related to this research. As he writes, it is an account consisting of

(...) my own observations and experiences, which I gathered during many weeks of wandering around the villages of Podhale, going from house to house as part of my anthropological activities. (...) the reception that a group of researchers encountered in the families, which were usually visited unannouncedly, varied: we met with a friendly, sometimes proud interest in belonging to the highlanders, up to a certain distrust of strangers. However, ice melted almost always very quickly. The fact that these people were already familiar with tourists and always had a great sense of freedom was undoubtedly helpful. In general, the behaviour of the Podhale residents did not differ from that of other peasant groups. Sometimes we were received with special hospitality, especially when the news spread around the area and the father of the family had a special reason to be proud of his origins or those of his family. We were often served milk. We have never seen any signs of servility or attempts to please us, and there has always been a certain distance. We felt that we were meeting people who knew their dignity (Plügel 1942b: 246).

It can be assumed that anthropological research was organized in 1940 in Podhale as a part of the actions taken by Abteilung Schulwesen (Department of Education) or by relevant NSDAP agencies. Taking into account the fact that the action involved groups of children from the first years of primary school or whole families, it corresponded to the principles adopted for the Germanization action of Polish children, which was initiated already in the letter of 1939 by Himmler as Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums (Commissioner of the Reich for the Strengthening of Germany). The guidelines were drawn up by the Rassen Politisches Amt der NSDAP (NSDAP). They said that racially valuable children cannot be more than 8–10 years old, because only until that age is it possible to “truly germanise”. Thus, among other things, it was envisaged that all children aged 6–10 would be “screened” annually for this purpose, although, unlike the lands

incorporated into the Reich, the action in the GG remained in its beginnings (Szuman, Hrabar 1949: 12–14).

With regard to Plügel's interest in the highlanders' culture, it should be stressed that, contrary to the opinions often expressed, neither in the IDO's documentation nor in the accounts collected any reliable information could be found that would indicate that anthropological and folklore research in Podhale was directly connected with the activities carried out within the framework of the Goralenvolk movement.⁶⁴ Although three photographs of Plügel have been preserved in the surroundings of, among others, Waław Krzeptowski in the background of the "U Wnuka" Inn in Zakopane, nevertheless in the abundant correspondence conducted by him both in 1940 and later, and in the reports drawn up there is no information concerning possible cooperation with Goralenvolk activists, for example in the field of selecting families for whom "racial" questionnaires were drawn up. Perhaps we could be aware of the fact that among those subject to anthropological measurements there are all members of Julian Krzeptowski's family, Brother Waław, and Adam Krzeptowski. However, the vast majority of the questionnaires containing the data of the residents of Kościelisko – the "hometown" of the leader of Goralenvolk – concern families which, according to the reports we collected from people who recognised their data and photographs, were not informed about the "visit" of the Germans. Plügel stresses this himself in his report on anthropological research in Podhale (Plügel 1942b: 246). They were detached from farm work and photographed in "working" clothes, often very damaged, and the preserved ones show that some of them only later dressed up to pose again in their festive outfit.

Questionnaires with data and photographs taken at that time, as well as Plügel's own words quoted above, confirm his direct participation in anthropological measurements. As the photographs attached to the questionnaires show, they surveys were carried out in "field" conditions. Persons were photographed against the background of a sheet that was held in the hand or hung on the outside of a residential or utility building. In the same provisional way as in Podhale, Plügel also photographed inhabitants of other villages.

⁶⁴ Such suggestions can be found in the publication by W. Szatkowski, who states, among other things, that Anton Plügel was actively involved in the Goralenvolk action. He also mistakenly attributed A. Plügel a stay in Zakopane in November 1939 as a member of the accompanying team of Hans Frank during his visit to Podhale (Szatkowski 2012: 98–99). Plügel did not appear in Cracow until the beginning of January 1940 in connection with his employment in Abteilung Kultur und Unterricht, as evidenced by his personal records. L. Gottschall writes about this in an article included in this volume. Cf. also Michel 2000: 153.

However, the questionnaires (few of them) have been preserved only for Łemkos from the villages of Łosie and Nowa Wieś, who also bear the headline "Podhale 1940".⁶⁵ the documents referred to above are the only ones which show that Plügel managed or participated in the collection of anthropological data in the area before being employed by IDO. After taking up the position of head of the Ethnology Department, he prepared the organisational framework for a survey of the Jewish population in Tarnów, which began at the end of April 1942, but did not take part in it. It was conducted by Viennese anthropologists Elfriede Fliethmann and Dora Kahlich (Michel 2000: 160). Plügel also prepared further field trips, training groups to carry out research (Bałuk-Ulewiczowa 2004: 80). He was probably also involved in the development of the questionnaires. One of the forms for collecting "racial" data called "Anthropologisches Erhebungsblatt" ("Anthropological Data Questionnaire") shows his name, and this tool was used during the measurements carried out at the end of 1942 and in 1943, among others in Hańczowa, Komańcza and Wawrzeńczyce.

For a more complete picture of the ethnographic field research of Anton Plügel, it is worthwhile to pay attention to his "photographic archives".⁶⁶ A set of negatives and colour slides made during the trips to the area, we believe, personally by him or by a photographer accompanying him, have been preserved in the Washington collections. Each envelope containing a set of negatives in a number corresponding to a single roll of film shall bear the name of the town or other data indicating the place where the photographs were taken.⁶⁷ The films were also numbered from 1 to 126 and, as everything indicates, the chronological order was preserved. Additionally, the film frames were numbered, which means that the collection included at least 4419 photographs. As we mentioned earlier, they all had to be taken as early as 1940, as Plügel used several photographs as illustrative material for a text published as early as February 1941 in "Das Vorfeld".⁶⁸ Among them there is a photograph from Wróblík Królewski, whose negative number indicates that it was taken as one of the last. None of the envelopes bear the name

⁶⁵ A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 06/04.

⁶⁶ One of the documents concerning the exhibition *Germanenerbe im Weichselraum* organised by the Prehistory Section, for which Plügel was preparing some materials, mentions the possibility of using the photograph "aus meinem Bildarchiv" in the exhibition. AUJ, IDO SRV, Box 01/02/03.

⁶⁷ Descriptions on all envelopes are written in the same hand which indicates they were made by Plügel.

⁶⁸ It is an appendix to the text in the form of 4 unnumbered pages with 68 photographs and explanations concerning racial types represented by persons captured in the photographs (Plügel 1941b).

of the photographer, but some of the negatives found in the IEiAK collections bear the name Plügel on the reverse side.⁶⁹ Moreover, in the Washington documentation and in the archival resources of other institutions, one can find information confirming the “route” of his field research, corresponding to the contents of this photographic collection and chronologically consistent with the ordinal numbering of the envelopes. On this basis it can be assumed that Plügel began to collect photographic documentation in Podhale with photographs of the exhibits and archival materials of the Tatra Mountains Museum. The next photographs were taken in the Jewish districts in Tarnów and Nowy Sącz. They mainly depict street scenes and architecture, and there are no people on any of them who are deliberately arranged to be photographed. On the next few films we can see Lemkos from the vicinity of Krynica. The next stay in Podhale results in several hundred negatives presenting, among others, the exhibits of the Tatra Mountains Museum. The order suggested by the numbering of the envelopes indicates that Plügel’s interest was then focused primarily on the Lemko population of the Sanok area, although he also documented the Poles living there. More than 1,100 photographs of the Podhale residents are numbered next, which were later included in the tables attached to the questionnaires with anthropological measurements. The description of several recent films shows that Plügel also photographed, among others, Poles living in Głowienka near Krosno and Lemkos in the nearby village of Wróblík Królewski, as well as in Ropa and Hańcza. Realities recorded in the photographs indicate that the first ones were taken in winter in Chochołów, Dzianisz and Zakopane, among others, and the last one in autumn 1940. A large part of the photographs depicts people in shots indicating that the aim was to capture certain anthropological features. In addition, the collection contains a very rich set of photographs in which whole families were portrayed (especially in Podhale and the Lemko region). Scenes from everyday life were recorded, as well as field works, rural built-up areas and architecture, sacral objects, costumes and many other ethnographic details. Photographs collected in the Plügel “archive”, especially those taken on the ground, could be the subject of a separate study. Here we characterize them only briefly, to draw attention to their documentary value.

As we can see, Plügel’s interests focused mainly on Podhale and the Lemko region. Until April 1941, when he was employed by IDO, he collected “racial”

⁶⁹ More about Plügel’s photographs, as well as other photographs from the SRV collection, is written by E. Duszeńko-Król in the text included in this volume, and also in the book devoted to photographs from the IDO collection (Duszeńko-Król 2014: 72–86, 197–198, 201–208).

material, as well as ethnographic documentation, mainly related to Podhale highlanders and Lemkos. It is worth noting that when describing negatives, apart from the Polish population, he qualifies the photographed inhabitants of villages near Krynica and Sanok, as well as Ropa, Hańcza and Wróblík Królewski almost exclusively as Lemkos. The Ukrainian nationality is marked only by few people, whose photographs he already placed on special cards.

Plügel undoubtedly began organizing and processing the material collected during field research before joining IDO. Preliminary statements of data collected during measurements in Podhale have been preserved, as well as loose notes made by him personally, according to our assessment. From the questionnaires with the anthropometric data of highlanders from the Podhale region, a dozen or so people were selected and given the annotation "mixed-race". On the frames of colour slides of selected persons there were signatures indicating the degree of "mixing": "3/4 highlanders", "1/2 highlanders, 1/2 Celtic", etc. This could also be demonstrated by a "file" consisting of cards bearing the annotation "Plügel 1940", founded for Poles, Lemkos and Ukrainians. In addition to photographs of the person in question, the three photographs show the name, place and nationality of the person concerned and, for some of them, additional data ("village leader", "profession – farmer").⁷⁰ There are only a dozen or so of these cards. However, Plügel may have produced more, but as with many field studies, including a large number of photographs certified by other documents, they have not been preserved or found yet. In October 1941, in the report on the activity of the Department of Ethnology, he mentioned as one of his tasks the creation of a file with photographs of races, which would also include those made by the employees of the department during field research.⁷¹ There are also loose, handwritten notes in the Washington collection with summary lists of some parameters from the measurements. Already while Plügel was working for IDO, in May 1941, he was sent additional information at his request concerning the students of the Zakopane Wood Industry Vocational School, whose anthropometric data and photographs were included in the questionnaires of 1940.⁷² It can therefore be assumed that he was also going to work on this. It seems, however, that being in the SRV for only a little

⁷⁰ A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 53/01/002–057.

⁷¹ *Arbeitsbericht des Referats Ethnologie*, den 14. Oktober 1941. A. Plügel, Typed manuscript, 4 pp., ANK IfDO 21: 1449–1455. *Arbeitsbericht und Planung des Referat Ethnologie*, im Juli 1941. A. Plügel, Typed manuscript, 9 pp., ANK IfDO 21: 1377–1395.

⁷² The letter from the school headmaster, Georg Śliwka, dated May 23, 1941, in which he informs Plügel that he is sending additional data concerning his students as a supplement to his last year's research in Podhale. A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 71/14/014.

over a year, he focused his interest on the Podhale folk culture to the greatest extent. In his work plan for the Department of Ethnology of the SRV (Section on Race and Ethnicity Research), prepared in July 1941, the scope of tasks to be carried out was very broad. These are mainly research on “eastern races”, such as: the preparation of monographs on neolithic races of Eastern Europe, the preparation of “race studies’ articles” concerning some highlanders’ villages, anthropological research and demography of Poles sent to work in the Reich and members of the Polish resistance movement who were arrested. For himself Plügel kept mainly skin and pigment research. The ethnographic research objectives are much more modestly defined here. Plügel only mentions the preparation of questionnaires for the study of folk culture in the GG and “sociological-genetic” questionnaires. The creation of a database of photographs in the field of ethnicity studies, as well as “individual research into ethnological issues in the Carpathians and the eastern forest lands and marshlands as areas where archaic cultural phenomena have been best preserved”.⁷³ A few months later, in his next report, he already mentioned, among other things, specific topics for research into the folk culture of the Carpathians: studies of the highlanders’ metal shirt pins, folk tales of the Podhale highlanders, legends about brigands of the Carpathian nations, and the shepherds’ culture in the Carpathians and in neighbouring areas.⁷⁴

A month before his unexpected calling to the Wehrmacht on April 15, 1942, he prepared another, more general working plan for the entire section. Most of the tasks mentioned in the earlier documents were repeated here as continuing. However, it is known that as early as March 1941 Gottong (although assigned to the Department of Anthropology) conducted anthropological measurements of Polish Baudinst workers (Makuła 2009: 102–118), and in October this year also in Markowa. From the end of April to the beginning of May 1942, Fliethmann conducted anthropological research on Tarnów’s Jews; sociological questionnaires and genealogical data were filled in there, so the tools for this research had to be ready beforehand. The work on ethnographic questionnaires for the great ethnicity studies’ inventory action in the GG, in which Plügel held working meetings with Adam Fischer, was taken over by Riemann, which will be discussed later in the article.

⁷³ *Arbeitsbericht des Referats Ethnologie*, den 14. Oktober 1941. A. Plügel, Typed manuscript, 4 pp., ANK IfDO 21: 1449–1455. *Arbeitsbericht und Planung des Referat Ethnologie*, im Juli 1941. A. Plügel, Typed manuscript, 9 pp., ANK IfDO 21: 1377–1395.

⁷⁴ *Arbeitsbericht des Referats Ethnologie*, Krakau, den 14. Oktober 1941. Dr A. Plügel, Typed manuscript, 4 pp., ANK IfDO 21: 1449–1455.

Plügel crowned his interest in highlanders with an extensive “ethnicity studies’ sketch”, published in three successive issues of the “Die Burg” magazine. The first part, published as early as 1941, is a fairly general discussion of the history of the region, the population relations of the Podhale region and, as we can see, a surprisingly cautious verdict in racial cases. The relevant paragraph is entitled “Germanisches Blut in den Góralen?” (“Germanic blood in the Highlands?”) and it starts with the statement: “As in the entire area between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, where the Germanic admixture cannot be rejected in advance, the case is the same here. However, due to the total lack of sources concerning Podhale, it seems impossible to resolve this issue and the excessively long discussion is fruitless” (Plügel 1941a: 60–61).

In this context, Plügel is also cautious about the theory of the Gothic origin of the highlanders’ pins. Although he suggests that it is necessary to examine their possible links with mediaeval and early modern buckles of German peasants, he adds at the end: “In any case, with regard to the far-going conjecture on the Highlanders’ pin, it is necessary to elaborate on this detailed issue. An ethnicity studies’ work on this topic is underway. The results of this work so far, as indicated above, will make it necessary to depart from the thesis on Goths” (Plügel 1941a: 61).

The second, much more extensive part of the study is devoted to the discussion of particular areas of folk culture of the Podhale highlanders (Plügel 1942a). Plügel very often refers here to the exhibits preserved in the Tatra Mountains Museum, as well as to publications and other sources indicated, as one may assume on the basis of the preserved correspondence, by Zborowski. It should be noted that it gives a reliable source of information or inventory numbers of the museum objects to which it refers. As a certain curiosity, testifying to his meticulousness, one can refer to a letter to Zeitungsverlag Krakau–Warschau (Wydawnictwo Prasowe Kraków–Warszawa), in which he quite categorically demands that in the text of his article, amended by the editorial staff, the name “gorale” be corrected to “górale”, as there is no ban on using Polish spelling.⁷⁵

In the introduction to the publication on highlanders it is stipulated that it only reviews the most important areas of the Podhale culture, “(...) to the extent possible based on the existing literature, the resources of the Tatra Mountains Museum and a few weeks’ tour of the Tatra Mountains villages, which, however, focused mainly on anthropological research” (Plügel 1941a:

⁷⁵ A UJ, “Old IDO”, Box 70 (no page numbering).

95–96). Although his description of architecture, costume, craftsmanship and folklore is quite detailed, he stresses that the aim is not to present a purely ethnographic picture, but to define “what position is to be taken now and in the future by this people”, “to give a course”, as it were (Plügel 1941a: 96). Although he announces that the folklore sketch about the Podhale highlanders is the first of a series of such studies planned by the SRV, apart from the report on ethnographic research published in “Deutsche Forschung im Osten” in Szaflary by the author Ingeborg Sydow at the Department of Ethnology (Sydow 1942a, b; 1943).

The third part of the text, which summarizes earlier considerations, focuses primarily on demonstrating the influence of the German colonization on the culture of Podhale.

Probably the majority of the Nordic element found in the blood of highlanders has its cause in this medieval German migration. In addition, we have shown that the most characteristic objects of material culture are the German-Gothic originals. The fact that they have survived to this day in a relatively pure form is an indication of the strength and power of the cultural potential of German colonisation, as well as of the ability of the local population to take over these German achievements (Plügel 1942b: 236).

The second thread is the evaluation of the “character of Podhale highlanders” and the search for evidence which would confirm that they constitute “a separate people, differing in a number of very characteristic features from indigenous Polish groups of the population” (Plügel 1942b: 251).

It is not difficult to notice that in the case of Plügel the particular interest in the highlanders of Podhale and in Lemkos is in line with the policy pursued by the German GG administration towards selected groups of the population who were attributed Germanic origin or were considered racially and culturally valuable enough to be “germanised”. However, at this point it is worth to quote also the opinion of Hans Frank expressed already in April 1940: “(...) the people of the highlands are actually a rather decorative element. However, they feel the need to be regarded as a separate tribe, and this wish will be satisfied as far as possible” (Pospieszalski 1958: 162–164; Piotrowski 1957: 141). We refer here only briefly to Plügel’s extensive text, more than 250 pages long, in order to complete the picture of his achievements at the SRV. However, it is worth much more attention, both in terms of the ethnographic description of Podhale and in terms of the national concepts and policies of the German occupation authorities with regard

to the Podhale highlanders. However, this will already be the subject of a separate study.⁷⁶

On May 19, 1942, Anton Plügel had to leave Cracow because he was unexpectedly called to the Wehrmacht. At the end of April, as part of a massive action of anthropological and ethnographic research planned in the SRV, he corresponded with a German company producing tape recorders about a special copy, adapted to ethnicity studies' recordings during field research; he also sought to acquire high quality photographic equipment and lamps allowing to take photographs in dark interiors and even an X-ray camera, in order to be able to take photographs and corresponding X-ray photographs, "which was sought many times in anthropology".⁷⁷ He also applies to the Wehrmacht Headquarters for permission to conduct anthropological, ethnicity and linguistic studies (phonograms) in POW camps, especially in the places where Soviet prisoners were detained. Despite his political commitment, he applied as early as September 1941 for an exemption from military service due to his work (Michel 2000: 154). The content of letters already sent from France, where his unit was stationed, indicates that he was not enthusiastic about his military duties:

Accommodation and meals are good, the service itself is full of "spirit" – my company is the liveliest in the whole division. In any case, everything is bearable as soon as man becomes accustomed to the necessary "military virtues" and loses the habit of "thinking". (...)

Again, I would like to brief you briefly on this issue: (...) In November, I'm supposed to go to a six-week training course organized by the division. For the time being, I am sitting in a small seaside village on the banks of the English Channel and I am having a hard time with French civilians. However, it is still better than a regular service in the company.⁷⁸

Until the end of 1944, Plügel's and Gottong's names were entered on all SRV staff lists, payrolls and also in work and insurance record booklets as the IDO staff.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Stanisława Trebunia-Staszal is conducting research on this subject as part of the NCN project "Podhale Highlanders in the Nazi Concepts of Nationality and Ethnopolitics in the Light of Documents of Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung, operating as part of the Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit".

⁷⁷ Cf. e.g. The letter to Magnetophon AG in Berlin-Charlottenburg of April 22, 1942, or Kriegswirtschaftsstelle im Reichsforschungsrat in Berlin-Steglitz of March 14, 1942. A UJ, "Old IDO", Box 70 (no page numbering).

⁷⁸ BArch (formerly known as BDC)/PA Plügel – quoted after: Gottschall 2010.

⁷⁹ A large number of such documents concerning other SRV employees can be found in the Society of Friends of Fine Arts – the K. Estreicher's Archive.

ELFRIEDE FLIETHMANN, INGEBORG SYDOW

Elfriede Fliethmann, who briefly took over the management of the Department of Ethnology after the departure of Plügel, mentions in a report from October 1942 the implementation of several tasks that were planned and prepared by her predecessor. First, in order to finally train the employees performing the measurements, as he writes, “racial research” was conducted in the Cracow-based “delousing room” for workers to be sent to the Reich to forced labour camps, on a group of Poles and Ukrainians.⁸⁰ the documentation provided by Washington contains only a part of the photographs of women and men, most often undressed to the waist and with wet hair, holding the identification number.⁸¹ Next, the research was conducted in Haczów, in the Krosno powiat, where it was conducted and developed by Dr Dora Kahlich from the Institute of Anthropology in Vienna, cooperating with the SRV. So far, no materials have been found and little is known about the course of the research and its results.⁸²

We can only recall here a special document – “Daten zum Lebenslauf der Frau Dr Dora Maria Kahlich von 1932–1945” (Data Concerning the Curriculum Vitae of Dr Dora Maria Kahlich from 1932 to 1945), attached to the “Personalblatt” (personal questionnaire), prepared by the authorities of the Institute of Anthropology of the University of Vienna on May 15, 1945, as it can be assumed from the content, based on her account:

1942 Research at the invitation of the Institute for German Work in the East from Cracow in Tarnow. A few weeks spent in Poland. The research extended to Jews, with whom Dr. Kahlich had a friendly relationship, supported them by providing food, debated with them on political issues and gave advice on how to get to Hungary in case of danger. As a thank you to her, she was given a photo and dedication album. She also exchanged addresses with them and invited Ms Maschler, a student of medicine, to Vienna. In the summer of the same year she was invited by the same Institute to take part in collecting materials in Haczów, a Polish village. She stayed there during the summer with three Polish assistants: Mr Władysław Witkowski, Mr Stanisław Jasicki and Mr Ignacy Malinowski.

⁸⁰ *Arbeitsbericht der Sektion für Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung*, Krakau, den 20. Oktober 1942. E. Fliethmann, Typed manuscript, 10 pp., ANK, IfDO 21, 1077–1095.

⁸¹ The highest identification number given is 721. A UJ, IDO, Box 70/235–238, 243, 245, 251, 260–261, 263–264, 269, 278, 281, 287, 290.

⁸² According to a report drawn up for the Polish underground authorities, about 300 people were measured, although the date of October 1942 is probably wrong (Bałuk-Ulewiczowa 2004: 90).

Despite the recommendation to keep the Poles isolated, they were in a friendly atmosphere with each other, and despite the recommendation to treat them on a business basis, they were treated as equals, and Dr Kahlich managed to get them increased food rations. During meals and during their free time they created a real group of friends from student times, because one of the co-workers, Mr Jasicki, was an assistant to the Polish anthropologist, Professor Stołyhwo, which resulted in many common scientific points of interest. Mr Witkowski managed to obtain a permit from Dr Kahlich to travel to Przemyśl, where he wanted to visit his friends for an important reason, and for which he could not obtain a leave at his place of employment. During the day-long ride Mr Witkowski talked in a comprehensive manner about his activity in the resistance movement when the Germans entered and about his well-organized help in the escape of his oppressed colleagues through the Tatra Mountains. In this part of the journey the compartment was filled with people from the SS, who with guns in their hands threatened Poles. One of them wanted to stay by the window all the time in order to be able to shoot at the Poles hanging on the steps of the neighbouring wagon, which Dr Kahlich prevented by standing by the window for many hours. Mr. Witkowski, standing next to him, would also be uncertain about his life, if it were not for the fact that he introduced himself as a German. He was also admitted to the "Deutsche Haus", where Poles were strictly forbidden to enter, because it was the only place where they could stay for the night and get a meal. Dr. Kahlich remained in contact with him until Herbert Kahlich's death in 1944 (her husband's death – M.M. and S.T.-S.).⁸³

A commentary on this report seems superfluous, although it should be noted that Bronisław Jasicki did not give a negative opinion on German researchers when submitting explanations concerning IDO in 1959 in connection with the case of art historians from the Sektion Kunstgesichte. This is at least what can be inferred from the report drawn up from the conversation conducted with him by an operational officer of Division II of the SB KW MO (Security Service at the Voivodeship Command of the Citizens' Militia) in Cracow:

Dr. Jasicki said that he did not know all the German employees, and about those he knew, he might say that they were scientists who generally treated Poles decently. Many of them simply tried to avoid being called to the army and going to the front. He did not know Dr. Behrens personally, but according to what Polish employees

⁸³ Archiv der Universität Wien. Personal file: Koenner (Kahlich) Dora Maria/2246.

said at the time, he was considered a decent person and harmless to Poles [original spelling].⁸⁴

Regarding the Institute's own activities, he explained that, apart from strictly scientific studies, he also dealt with the propaganda of Germanness in Polish lands, the avant-garde progressive role of Germanness in eastern areas, as well as Jewish problems in the fascist spirit. However, the Germans, whom he knew, except for one, were not fanatical Germanophiles and Hitlerites, but rather scientists who worked on various issues, in which, however, they had to follow the Hitlerite doctrine and perform the political tasks postulated by the NSDAP. Many of them, as he said, stuck to this activity in order to protect themselves as long as possible from being sent to the front.⁸⁵

The biggest undertaking carried out by the Department of Ethnology was the research in Podhale: in Szaflary from June 18 to July 25, and then in Witów from July 26 to August 15, 1942. Szaflary were chosen mainly because of the historically certified mediaeval German colonization, and Witów "to compare and supplement the data".⁸⁶ It can be said that in the case of Szaflary, it was a model research campaign carried out with a scale never later repeated

⁸⁴ Report from the interview with Dr Jasicki Bronisław, on July 31 of this year and Report from the interview with Dr Jasicki Bronisław, Kr.I.VII.1959, IPN-KŚZpNP OBUiAD in Cracow, Subject queries (theme queries), 2003, 3/33, Vol. 8 See also the commentary of the author of the text devoted to the fate of the collections of the National Museum in Cracow during World War II. There, he recalls the account of the Museum's Director, Feliks Kopera, from January 1946, in which he refers, among other things, to the attitude of the Germans towards the museum's collections and the employees of this institution. The author notes that in the edited text, the flattering opinions about some of them had been removed from the working version. "Kopera's self-censorship was due to the fear that his positive opinion might be misunderstood due to the attitude of the general public and the communists towards the Germans. The issue of cooperation between Cracow's scientists and IDO should not be overlooked either. A positive opinion of the Germans could cast doubt on the Museum staff in this respect". Referring to these flattering opinions, however, the author rightly points out: "Kopera's account depicts the war as seen through the eyes of the director of the institution, and all positive or negative actions of the occupants are described only through this prism. In this context, he gives an example of Rudolf Pavel, a starost of the city, who was presented as a "good" German who saved the museum from the necessity to leave the Czapski Palace, and from other sources it is known that in many other situations he revealed his hatred for everything that was Polish and is guilty of taking part in criminal undertakings (Błońska 2014: 104–107).

⁸⁵ The German staff of the Geographical Section working there, Maria Milata, were characterised in a similar way by the fact that they provided explanations on the same subject. See the letter of the Head of the SB KW MO in Cracow, Department II, dated September 15, 1959, addressed to the Senior Operations Officer of the Special Task Group, Department II, Ministry of the Interior in Warsaw, IPN-KŚZpNP OBUiAD in Cracow, Subject queries (theme queries), 2003, 3/33, Vol. 8.

⁸⁶ *Arbeitsbericht der Sektion für Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung*, Krakau, den 20. Oktober 1942. E. Fliethmann, Typed manuscript, 10 pp., ANK, IfDO 21, 1077–1095.

again (Fliethmann 1942: 272). Both anthropological data and health and natural growth data were taken into account, family genealogies were developed, and the condition of the economy and living conditions were included. Moreover, the history of the town was considered, using the available archival sources and basic Polish studies. A team of archaeologists from the Archaeological Museum in Cracow also carried out excavations at the so-called *Zameczek* (Little Castle) in cooperation with Professor Werner Radig from the Prehistory Section and under direct supervision of Elfriede Marie-Luise John,⁸⁷ employed in this section.

The research group was relatively numerous. The anthropological measurements were conducted by Dr Elfriede Fliethmann, while the ethnographic studies were conducted by Dr Ingeborg Sydow. It is not possible to establish the names of the Polish collaborators of the team in a fully reliable way. It is known for sure that medical examinations were carried out here and later in many other places by Dr Bolesław Siwiński. Probably he is also mentioned in memoirs of the mayor of the village Szaflary, who noted: "From this disease a was cured by the director of the hospital in Łódź, because at that time several Polish physicians were looking in Szaflary for a Germanic tribe, taking various measurements of the population" (Adamczyk 1993: 145–146). The group carrying out anthropological measurements included also medical students Maria Uruska and Ignacy Malinowski. The data for sociological questionnaires were collected, among others, by a geographer, Jakub Kleiner. Ethnographic drawings were to be made by Wilhelm Tabor from the Lviv Branch.⁸⁸

Similar tasks in SRV are also ascribed to Tadeusz Kantor. The report for the Polish underground, mentioned earlier, contains the following note: "He makes drawings and maps for Sydow" but, as it seems, this refers to preparing illustrative material for Sydow's publications on the basis of drawings made during field research by another person.⁸⁹ In German documents con-

⁸⁷ The Archaeological Museum in Kraków has kept a register of excavations covering the period from June 30 to September 26, 1942 (according to the Head of the Archives, Marzena Woźny, the handwriting indicates that it was kept by Stanisław Buratyński, PhD), in which a meeting with anthropologists conducting research in Szaflary was noted, as well as Juliusz Zborowski's visit to the excavations. Archives of the Archaeological Museum in Cracow, "Teczka stanowiska Szaflary", No. 9, Register of excavations in Szaflary.

⁸⁸ Although the SRV activity report for 1942–1943 prepared for the Polish underground authorities mentions the names and scope of certain duties of Polish employees, it is not precise enough to allow the determination of the full composition of this team and the tasks entrusted to them (Bałuk-Ulewiczowa 2004: 77–93).

⁸⁹ Ibid.

cerning the SRV, Tadeusz Kantor is also mentioned as “a draftsman preparing ethnographic drawings”.⁹⁰ It seems that it is highly likely that he is the author of the plates with plans of buildings and intricately presented architectural details included in Sydow’s article.⁹¹ As we have already mentioned, the director of the Ethnographic Museum, Juliusz Zborowski, was also assigned to carry out the research in Szaflary by the decision of his superior. Originally, Professor Adam Fischer was also to join the team, but it was decided that he would remain in Lviv in order to complete the ethnographic questionnaires as a matter of urgency.⁹²

In Szaflary, not only were a large number of people covered by the surveys, but their scope was also exceptionally broad. As we have already indicated, on such a scale they were not repeated in any other place. 1,003 people were subjected to detailed anthropological and medical examinations, i.e. two thirds of the entire community – from children under two to elderly people who were nearly ninety years old. Everyone was fingerprinted and there are several hundred cards with palm prints and a similar number of envelopes with strands of hair. Sets of photographs of over 630 people have survived, supplementing the “racial” surveys, but judging by the identification numbers assigned to individual people, they were taken of all the surveyed. Extensive “sociological questionnaires” filled in during interviews with the head of the family provided detailed characteristics of 238 farms. Precise data were collected on all family members (their education, occupation, functions, membership in associations or trips outside the village), as well as information on their farm (e.g. way of acquiring the farm, amount of arable land and types of crops, agricultural tools, basic food products). The place and time of military service performed by men were recorded, as well as trips outside the village, literacy and many others.

For Szaflary apart from nearly 2,500 photographs, which complement anthropological measurements, several hundred others have been preserved, in which everyday life of the inhabitants, clothes, houses, farm buildings, household equipment and tools, everyday objects have been preserved. Individual people and whole families were also portrayed. A large part of the photographs were undoubtedly taken by Sydow herself, although there are also photographs by Fliethmann. Although the negatives, stored

⁹⁰ *Aufbau und Personalstand der Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung*. A. Plügel, Typed manuscript, 2 pp., A UJ, “Old IDO”, Box 70 (no page numbering).

⁹¹ These are plates without page numbering marked as: Taf. I–VI (Sydow 1942b).

⁹² A UJ, “Old IDO”, Box 70 (no page numbering).

at the Smithsonian Institution, are not described, in the Ethnographic Museum in Cracow, among the several hundred inventory cards forming part of the IDO photographic archive there are also several prints on which Sydow is listed as the author; negatives to them (or to those containing similar shots of the same figures or objects) are held in Washington's collection.

In Witów, anthropological and medical examinations have already been limited to 310 adults between the ages of 20 and 50, while in sociological questionnaires only 69 farms were "described". Psychological tests were started in this town, although on a very limited group of adults.⁹³ Starting with Szaflary, each person surveyed was assigned a serial number, which can be found on all the questionnaires and photographs concerning her. At the same time, the numbering continuity was maintained for subsequent towns and cities, which makes it possible to precisely determine the number of inhabitants covered by the survey despite incomplete documentation. In accordance with this order, the inhabitants of Szaflary selected for the measurements were marked with numbers from 1 to 1003, and the inhabitants of Wawrzeńczyce near Kraków, the last town covered by the SRV research campaign (in March 1943), were given numbers from 3295 to 3672, while the surveyed Jewish population in Tarnów, the population of Markowa, Gołkowice Niemieckie and German colonies near Mielec, and forced labourers surveyed in Cracow's delousing rooms were registered with different numbers. Separate numbering for each of these groups was used.

Szaflary was the only place for which not only ethnographic material was collected in the field, but also for which a publication was prepared. Sydow summarized the results of her research in the article *Volkskundliche Untersuchungen in dem góralischen Dorf Szaflary* published in subsequent issues of "Deutsche Forschung im Osten". (Sydow 1942a; 1942b; 1943). Fliethmann, on the other hand, in a short text, the title of which, although suggesting that this is an account of anthropological-ethnological research in Szaflary and Witów, is only very generally characteristic of their purpose and course (Fliethmann 1942). In the Home Army reports published by Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, as well as in post-war Polish publications devoted to IDO, one can find assessments undermining any scientific value of Sydow's publication – "disgrace of science" – which was also supposed to be the result of a kind of a sabotage of Polish consultants. "In collecting the material they were helped "diligently" and "professionally" by Director Zborowski and Mr Tabor. They take a considerable credit for the fact that their work is at this

⁹³ A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 52/03/002–009, 015–016.

level. It was also suggested that she was released from IDO due to incompetence (Bałuk-Ulewiczowa 2004: 16, 84). With regard to the latter argument, Michel refers to the following document from the resources of the Bundesarchiv, which shows that after marrying Sydow, she herself applied for exemption from IDO on the grounds that she considered taking up an ethnic studies research job in one of the research institutions in Berlin (Michel 2000: 162). As regards the publication in "Deutsche Forschung im Osten", in our opinion the reading of this text does not provide a basis for assessments as critical as those cited above. In the introduction, Sydow points out that he presents not a complete monographic study, but only an image of the village, which emerges from the collected documentation (Sydow 1942a: 266). So if we read the study, like the report from a few weeks of field research, we cannot deny that she managed to collect quite an interesting material, all the more valuable because Szaflar's ethnographic "description" had not been there before. As far as the "German point of view" is concerned, it's presence is relatively weak. It is also worth noting that in the first part, when discussing the history of the village, especially German colonization, she refers almost exclusively to the basic Polish literature in this field, citing such authors as Rafacz, Dobrowolski, Rozwadowski, Zborowski or Hołub-Pacewiczowa (Sydow 1942a: 266–268).

The main part of the study is an ethnographic description of the community, which proves that Sydow collected quite a detailed material, although as far as the illustrative material is concerned, it used only a few photographs from the rich set mentioned above. An example of field scrupulousness can be, for example, giving when discussing a building even numbers of houses, in which it was possible to read dates of their construction engraved on ceiling joists, or in which she identified old decorated tie beams or pegged doors built into a new house (Sydow 1942b: 306–309).

She proved to be a good field researcher not only in solidly documenting a reality that was alien to her, but also in obtaining information about the "dark" side of the neighborhood life. "Interestingly, there are a few thieves' families in the village of whom the inhabitants know they are stealing and whom they fear, but who are tolerated in the rural community" (Sydow 1943: 98). Sydow even mentioned one of the names in the text. It is worth mentioning that the phenomenon that she noticed has been verified to some extent during our field research in Szaflary. When we showed photographs taken during anthropological measurements, this fact has been confirmed. For example, by identifying a young man captured in one of the photographs, the interlocutor told a dramatic story of a lynch performed on this

man during the occupation. Captured during the subsequent theft, he was shot by the farmer, from whose cellar he tried to steal potatoes.⁹⁴

Sydow also considered it appropriate to note the attitude of the inhabitants of Szaflary towards German researchers.

Their attitude towards us was neither servile nor respectful. The kiss in his hand, a widespread custom in the east used to show respect, remains reserved for the parish priest and perhaps for the people around him. Although for the villagers our interference in their closed and undisturbed world was certainly unpleasant, they did not demonstrate such feelings towards us. Some people even treated us in an outright friendly or even hospitable manner (Sydow 1943: 95).

We will not find in her text any intrusive arguments about German influence in the culture of this community. Of course, she mentions “a few German borrowings”, giving examples of names such as *stępka*, *gruba*, or *szpulka* (Sydow 1943: 90). The “racial” perspective can probably only be seen in the following fragment:

There are great differences in cleanliness and order. Families living not only in poverty, but also in neglected and dirty homes were less valuable in terms of race and character. This was especially visible in the so-called primitives. The inhabitants of the magnificent farms made the right impression themselves. It was characteristic that children and young people were not afraid of water and were willing to swim in the river (Sydow 1943: 95).

Also in the last sentence of the text, although it refers to the data on the population of Szaflary in the various periods of the 19th and 20th centuries, which were given a little earlier, we can find a statement that Szaflary’s inhabitants are “healthy and resilient”, and statistics showing an increasing number of them are a “people capable of living”. This can be read as a conclusion in line with the objectives of the SRV study (Sydow 1943: 99).

It is also worth noting that, unlike other German SRV researchers, who did not indicate the contribution of Polish collaborators in the publications, Sydow was the only one to find it appropriate (although only in a footnote) to include information that Wilhelm Tabor from Lviv made sketches during her field research in Szaflary (Sydow 1942a: 2). Both Sydow and Plügel have mentioned Juliusz Zborowski many times as a source of various information

⁹⁴ The account of an inhabitant of Szaflary is in possession of the authors.

included in the text. A separate study prepared by Stanisława Trebunia-Staszek at the Jagiellonian University's Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology will talk more about the publication of Sydow, materials collected by her, as well as about the course and results of racial and ethnicity studies research conducted in Szaflary in the context of the German vision of the highlander's culture and plans and viable activities for the inhabitants of Podhale.

ERHARD RIEMANN

The situation in the Department of Ethnology changed when in mid-November 1942 the SRV was headed by a ethnicity studies scholar, Dr Erhard Riemann. His first activities were aimed at separating the substantive activity and the personnel of the Departments of Race Studies and Ethnicity Studies. According to Riemann, Plügel, who headed the Department of Ethnology until his appointment to the Wehrmacht, in fact focused on the development of the Department of Anthropology, while Gottong, as the head of the Department, was intensively involved in ethnicity studies issues, in particular the German settlement in the GG. Riemann also moved his collaborator Gottong, Sydow to the Department of Ethnicity Studies, and Fliethmann, who was initially employed as Plügel's assistant, appointed him to lead the Department of Race Studies.⁹⁵ In the text of the speech prepared for the IDO plenary meeting in July 1943, he stressed the special importance of the Department of Ethnicity Studies for strengthening "Germanness" in the East, which is why he maintained that the Institute should focus primarily on the extension of this particular department. He also outlined a comprehensive plan of the most important tasks to be performed. It was supposed to be a great ethnicity studies "inventory" of the GG by means of field research based on a questionnaire he developed. He paid particular attention to the study of the still existing or no longer existing German settlements. He pointed out that unlike *Deutschen Volkskundeatlas*, where the material was collected by sending out sheets that were filled in by local "laymen", he wanted to entrust this task, to people who had been professionally trained. It was supposed to be an action carried out on a large scale by five research groups, consisting of a German and a Polish ethnologist and a photographer. Each team would work on one of the five GG districts – a total of 1,250 towns. At the same time, Riemann informed

⁹⁵ *Arbeitsbericht der Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung*, Krakau, den 7. Juli 1943. E. Riemann, Typed manuscript, 8 pp., A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 01/01/09.

in his report that he had already created a completely new questionnaire sheet, taking into account nationality issues, considering that previous initiatives undertaken in the field of ethnicity studies research at the Lviv Branch were useless for his purposes.⁹⁶ At the Institute of National Remembrance there are several questionnaires for ethnographic research, among them an extremely extensive one concerning material culture, prepared by Polish ethnographers from the Lviv Branch: Adam Fischer and Wilhelm Tabor. It contains 1,173 questions and covers a very wide range. The collection contains a typed description in both Polish and German, described as “Fragebogen für Erforschung der materialien Volkskultur im Generalgouvernement” (“Questionnaire for the study of material culture in the GG”).⁹⁷ Work on it began while the SRV was in charge of Plügel, as evidenced by his correspondence with Werner Niemann, the head of the Lviv Branch, and Adam Fischer himself.⁹⁸ The draft version of the questionnaire, prepared by Riemann himself, has also been preserved. It is a set of questions covering all the basic issues related to the overall image of folk culture of a given village. References to the relevant parts of the *Deutschen Volkskundeatlas* (German Atlas of Folk Culture) are noted in many of the questions, as Riemann mentioned in his speech prepared for the IDO plenary: “In this questionnaire sheet a included questions from ‘Deutschen Volkskundeatlas’ and from a smaller collection of ‘Landesaufnahme des Reichsgaues Danzig-Westpreußen’ (nationality data for Reichsgau Gdańsk – West Prussia) to ensure cohesion of data collection with neighboring areas”.⁹⁹ In addition, the authorship of Riemann is indicated by handwritten corrections and working remarks, which – as one may think – were made by him on one of the copies of the text. None of the copies contained in the IPN archive is complete, but according to the numbering of the questions the questionnaire contained more than 450 of them.¹⁰⁰

This is how Riemann describes the building of the research team:

I asked 40 leading Reich ethnicity studies scholars to find staff, and everywhere I encountered a vivid interest in my project. I received special support from the Institut für Deutsche Volkskunde der Hohen Schule der NSDAP (Institute of German Ethnicity Studies at the NSDAP University), *Deutscher Sprachatlas*

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ IPN GK 113/20.

⁹⁸ IPN GK 113/1; A UJ, “Old IDO”, Box 70 (no page numbering).

⁹⁹ *Arbeitsbericht der Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung*, 7. Juli 1943. E. Riemann, Typed manuscript, 8 pp., A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 01/01.

¹⁰⁰ IPN GK 113/20.

(German Language Atlas) in Marburg, Institut für Völkunde der Universität Breslau (Institute of Ethnicity Studies at the University of Wrocław), with whom close cooperation agreements were concluded. After long conversations with a large number of people I found the German collaborators I needed. It was equally difficult to recruit Polish coworkers, who were connected with various institutions and plants, and with great difficulties could they be dismissed from their previous jobs. So I had a complete staff. The organizational preparations were fully completed and we were to start the study on April 1. At this point, however, "Losackeraktion" began, which caused the closure of my section, or its complete staff reduction, and thus the failure of the plan to collect ethnicity data. The entire effort of previous months was scuppered. This was all the more regrettable as no large-scale collection of ethnicity data was undertaken thus far in the Reich, with such a density of a data collection grid and such a method.¹⁰¹

In his report he also deplores the fact that, for the same reason, the second task could not be carried out, which in its view was also of primary importance for the SRV, namely the creation of a comprehensive archive of documentation on German settlements in the GG.

I intended to create an extensive archive of German settlements in the GG, which alphabetically, according to local names, captures all the existing and no longer existing German colonies in the Vistula area. This archive was supposed to be the fulfillment of my thoughts from the February conference on interdisciplinary cooperation of various branches of the humanities in order to conduct a large-scale ethnicity studies research. Each village was to have its own file containing all the historical and historical-legal source material concerning it, starting from the location act. The historical studies published so far were to be catalogued and added to the individual folders of the villages. Moreover, the results of research on settlement, race and folk culture were to be deposited in a condensed form. It was also intended to mention prehistoric findings and facts about art history, in so far as they had an impact on ethnic issues. The collection was to be supplemented with linguistic, dialectological and onomastic data.¹⁰²

Riemann indicates in his report that due to the limitations imposed by the war situation, on April 1, 1943, the SRV personnel was reduced, and

¹⁰¹ *Arbeitsbericht der Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung*, Krakau, den 7. Juli 1943. E. Riemann, Typed manuscript, 8 pp., A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 01/01/09.

¹⁰² Ibid.

as a result the work of the section was significantly reduced, which, as he writes, meant first of all the discontinuation of anthropological data collection in the field.¹⁰³

From the works he already started, he mentions the creation of a general photographic archive of negatives and glass plates, arranged according to subject areas, which is to provide important ethnicity studies material and should be further developed. It also signals that actions have been taken to organize an archive of slides and, in the future, a cartographic collection.¹⁰⁴ the photographic collections revealed during the queries, especially in the Ethnographic Museum in Cracow and in the IEiAK UJ Archives, although fragmented, indicate that these plans were implemented at least in part.

Despite the limitations in the operations of the SRV underlined in the report, Riemann elsewhere points out that the work of the section has been “particularly accelerated” thanks to the cooperation with the Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums (RKFDV). This was in a way sanctioned by his appointment, as he described it, as an “honorary scientific collaborator” of the Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle-VoMi (the Central Office for Ethnic Germans) and the submission of the “Paper on Scientific Research and Documentation” to his management. At a joint conference in February 1943, the theme of which was “Deutsche Forschung im Vorkarpaten und Weichselraum als Grundlage für die praktische Volkstumsarbeit” (German research in the Podkarpacie region and the Vistula river basin as the basis for practical ethnicity studies work), SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr Weibgen, who led the VoMi, and the IDO Director Dr Wilhelm Coblitz stressed the need for ethnicity studies research to be focused on strengthening the German national character. The work of the SRV was to continue to be subordinated to the specific needs of the RKFDV and to provide scientific documentation on the nationality policy activities (Michel 2000: 161–162).¹⁰⁵

In his report, Riemann also explains what the cooperation between SRV and VoMi will be like in practice: “I will continue to issue opinions on all nationality issues and work, for example, on a plan for the Germanisation of the population of German descent”. The section was also asked to provide a scientific justification for the selection of the sites to be germanised. The text of the speech, prepared for the IDO plenary session, ends with the information

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. also *Arbeitsbericht der Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung*, Krakau, den 7. Juli 1943. E. Riemann, Typed manuscript, 8 pp., A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 01/01/09.

that the next day Riemann is going with a small working group, consisting of two SRV employees and two employees of the Central Office for Ethnic Germans, for about two and a half months to conduct ethnicity studies research in the towns of Uszew, Biecz, Łańcut and Markowa, as well as in one still undefined village near Rzeszów.¹⁰⁶

In his article, Ute Michel estimates that in 1943 the SRV virtually ceased its activity and that it was no longer possible to count on the section team to carry out ethno-political field research (Michel 2000: 162). It seems that although the area of activities had to be significantly narrowed, the documentation available today allows us to state that until the autumn of 1943 the section continued to collect racial and ethnic materials in the field. In January and February 1943, Fliethmann conducted research in the village of Borowa near Mielec, inhabited exclusively by Poles. A few months earlier, a large Jewish community there had been displaced, and some of the Jews from Borowo had been murdered by the Germans while they were being expelled from the village. For almost a month, the survey data for 746 residents (adults and children) were filled in, psychological tests were carried out, and sociological questionnaires were used to “describe” 56 families and households.¹⁰⁷ Residents of Borowa, remembering the action of German anthropologists, stressed, as in other places visited by us, that there was a predominance of fear, especially of being sent to Germany as forced labour. When a history teacher, an inhabitant of this village helped us to find witnesses of these events who were still alive, verified data from parish books surveys, he pointed out that probably because of such fears parents, giving German researchers the dates of birth of their children, often understated their age. Borowo is the only place for which written calls to appear before the “anthropological commission” have survived, with the threat of punishment in the event of disregard for the obligation.¹⁰⁸ It is worth mentioning that in other places, too, the population reluctantly succumbed to the survey. Fliethmann records the following in a report:

Due to the strong resistance of the population to the research, which we also experienced in Witów and Szaflary, but which was defeated there thanks to the intervention of the police, it was not possible to investigate all people from the given

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. Cf. also: Cost settlement of research in Uszew, sent to Obersturmbannführer Rommers from VoMi, Kraków, July 8–24, 1943, IPN GK 113/2.

¹⁰⁷ For material from this research – see A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 20/24, Box 31/12, Box 37/25, Box 50/27, Box 52/08, Box 71/07, Box 74/16.

¹⁰⁸ A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 71/07/002–009.

age group. This resistance also made psychological research very difficult. After Hańczowa we did research in Komańcza – another Lemko town, located further to the east, considered to be the centre of the Lemko nation. With the help of the Ukrainian Aid Committee and the cooperation of two Ukrainians, it was possible to convince the population that the research was harmless, so the work progressed smoothly.¹⁰⁹

The research in Komańcza has already been carried out smoothly. The problem of whether the inhabitants are Ruthenians or Ukrainians has already been solved in favour of the Ukrainians. So I think that also the inhabitants of Hańczowa will convert with time.¹¹⁰

By the way, the opinion expressed here by Fliethmann concerning the nationality declared by the inhabitants of Komańcza and Hańczowa is confirmed by the records of the research. If in the case of Komańcza, in the questionnaires with anthropometric data, under the heading “Volk. Stamm” the only entry, almost exclusively, was: “An Ukrainian”, in the case of Hańczowa, it was almost without exception: “Lemko”. In the sociological surveys in Hańczowa, prepared for 53 farms during the interview with the head of the family, only in one case the respondent declared Ukrainian nationality. We provide this information in order to point out that, for example, in the case of nationality issues, and not only in the case of the Lemko region, the material collected as part of the SRV campaign may be a valuable source of further studies in this field.¹¹¹

In January 1943, parallel to the action in Borowa, Sydow conducted research in several German colonies near Mielec. It is believed that only a part of the material collected there has been preserved. These are surveys with 552 people's anthropometric data and sociological questionnaires and psychological tests prepared for only some of them.¹¹² the attached list of

¹⁰⁹ *Arbeitsbericht der Sektion für Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung*, Krakau, den 20. Oktober 1942. E. Fliethmann, Typed manuscript, 10 pp., ANK, IfDO 21, 1077–1095.

¹¹⁰ A letter of Fliethmann to an inhabitant of Hańczowa, where she was probably accommodated. A UJ, “Old IDO”, Box 70 (no page numbering).

¹¹¹ Also interesting in this respect is the material from the research conducted by the SRV in villages near Mielec inhabited by German colonists. For example, in Weizenbring (now Wola Pławska) more than a half of the people surveyed as their mother tongue declared that they were Polish. A UJ, “Old IDO” Box 75 (no page numbering).

¹¹² The research covered the inhabitants of the following villages: Hohenbach (now part of the village of Czermin), Langenau (now Zawada), Schönanger (now Orłów) and Weizenbring (now Wola Pławska). A UJ “Old IDO”, Box 73–75; A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 52/01–02, box 60/22, Box 24–26, Box 77/13.

people to be photographed indicates that there was such documentation, but we haven't found it in any archival resources we have reviewed. The last place where in March 1943 the SRV team surveyed 378 adult inhabitants was Wawrzeńczyce, near Cracow. Anthropological and medical surveys with their data as well as psychological tests survived in the archives handed over from Washington.¹¹³ Annotations on the materials indicate that here too the questionnaires were supplemented with photographs, but during the searches conducted by us they were not found.¹¹⁴

As we have already mentioned, on the basis of documentation, among others from the resources of the Institute of National Remembrance, it can be assumed that for the SRV in 1943 the cooperation with VoMi became crucial. Riemann's correspondence with various units of this institution between February and October of this year, concerning both the plans and the projects already carried out jointly, clearly demonstrates this.¹¹⁵ The resources of the Central Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland include several thousand pages of materials collected in the field and created as a result of the VoMi's systematic "description" of individual villages by filling in questionnaires entitled "Dorffragebogen – Rural questionnaire" in July and August 1942. The material has been preserved for 247 villages situated within the administrative boundaries of 23 then communes (Biecz, Bobowa, Brzostek, Dębowiec, Frysztak, Glinik, Jasło, Jodłowa, Kołaczyce, Lipniki, Łańcut, Łużna, Markowa, Osiek, Ropa, Rzepiennik Strzyżewski, Sękowa, Skołyszyn, Szerzyny, Tarnowiec, Uszew, Wiśniowa, Żmigród).¹¹⁶ It is difficult to determine however to what extent Riemann was involved in the preparation of the survey and to what extent it could be involved in the collection of data in the field. In the summer of 1942, he was not yet employed by IDO. It may be assumed, however, that VoMi submitted all of this documentation for processing to Riemann, already as the SRV manager, due to the tasks assigned to him by this institution. The numbering of the questionnaires

¹¹³ A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 16/45, Box 17/46–52, Box 21/29–32, Box 38/33–36, Box 51/35–38, Box 52/11.

¹¹⁴ E. Duszeńko-Król (2014) writes more about the fate of the evacuated IDO documentation before it found its way to various archives. It is also known that Fliethmann and Kahlich took the material to Vienna and Berlin when they worked on it (Michel 2000: 162–163).

¹¹⁵ In the literature devoted to the period of World War II in the Krosno and Jasło regions one can find references attributing to IDO carrying out of anthropological measurements in many villages, including Osobnica, Harkłowa, Święcany, Żurowa and others not yet mentioned by name (Pomprowicz 2002: 19; Wieliczko 1984: 135–136). However, we have not yet found any materials that would indicate that the SRV carried out research in these locations.

¹¹⁶ IPN GK 113/24–46.

shows that this is only a part of the collected material, as the highest order number found in one of the described villages – Zawadzie Uszewska – is 453,¹¹⁷ often containing very precise information about a specific village. This includes the exact number of inhabitants, taking into account their nationality, professional structure and economic emigration before the war. They are supplemented by personal lists of young people who attended junior high schools or higher education institutions in the last twenty years, the number of students and the determination of their interests and “gifts”. The number of people who came after September 1, 1939 from the “included eastern districts” was reported, and sometimes also those who came from the areas incorporated into the Reich. It also contains detailed information on the number and size of holdings, the structure of the land and the rules governing inheritance of property. The objects of rural industry were shown, circles and associations operating in the villages before the war were mentioned, and the history of the parish was described. Ethnographic data are considered only selectively. Questions concerning rural handicraft products, folk costumes, ritual bread and festive dishes, children’s games and dances were answered. The questions are in German and Polish, while the answers are in German. It can be assumed that this material was collected in the field by many interviewers. Information was provided by village leaders, teachers, doctors and parish priests, who were also mentioned in the questionnaire as confirming the accuracy of the data, although not always signed it. In individual cases, the authenticity of the information is certified by the person signed as “Leiter der Arbeitsgruppe” or “Einsatzgruppenführer”. Among the documentation related to this action are also summary reports summarizing the results for the whole commune. There are also several hundred pages of additional material to supplement the standard answers, such as excerpts from parish books, the history of some villages or parishes, descriptions of rites, population data, and many more. There is also a description of the wedding in Markowa, recorded by an anthropologist Bronisław Jasicki: “Bericht der Frau des Schulleiters in Markowa, notiert von Dr. Jasicki. Hochzeit in Markowa”¹¹⁸ and the typescript of Adam Fischer’s text: “Weihnachtsbräuche in Galizien/bearb. Von Prof. Dr. Fischer/zugeschickt an die Lemberger Zeitung/Herrn Kistorz am 8.12.42”.¹¹⁹

The data contained in the “Dorffragebogen” concerning the names, as well as a lot of general information concerning the individual villages, were

¹¹⁷ IPN GK 113/46.

¹¹⁸ IPN GK 113/13.

¹¹⁹ IPN GK 113/50.

undoubtedly used by Riemann in his article on German names in the Carpathians (Riemann 1944a). As part of his cooperation with VoMi, Riemann also edited “Dorfbuch” (A Books of the Village), which after receiving approval from the Rosenberg Office was to be sent to all villages in the GG intended for germanization or regermanization.¹²⁰ the IPN archives contain a printed copy (published by Moritz Diesterweg in Frankfurt am Main, without date) entitled “Unser Dorfbuch. Richtlinien für die Bearbeiter”. It contains 35 main issues to be included in the description of the village, together with detailed instructions for people who are to collect and process the material.¹²¹ In 1943, Riemann already personally conducted field research in the VoMi area, as indicated not only by the announcement of his departure in the report mentioned above, but also by extensive correspondence with various institutions related to his research. An anonymous author of information on the SRV activity prepared for the Polish underground states: “During his trips (Riemann) collected ethnographic material (customs, habits, costumes, farming and vocational qualifications data, legends, beliefs) and language material/ names, surnames, nicknames, forenames, phrases and expressions” (Bałuk-Ulewiczowa 2004: 84).

This is also evidenced by 101 photographs taken by Riemann in a dozen or so towns, most often bearing the date from July to September 1943, for which the filled “Dorffragebogen” have been preserved (including Gosprzydowa, Binarowa, Uszew, Biesiadaki, Zawada Uszewska). They were found in the archives of the Museum of Ethnography in Cracow, and one photograph was also found in IPN.¹²²

On the basis of the preserved, albeit residual, documentation, it can be concluded that in April 1943 Riemann also took part in field research in Haczów, organized by VoMi. At the same time, Dr Karl Haiding of the Institut für Deutsche Volkskunde der Hohen Schule der NSDAP conducted research on folklore and children’s games there. Doris Sauer, who as a student helped him to document musical folklore during this trip, in one of the chapters of her book devoted to Haiding and titled *Exkursion in die Waldkarpaten* describes the purpose of the expedition and the participants as follows:

¹²⁰ *Arbeitsbericht der Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung*, den 7. Juli 1943. E. Riemann, Typed manuscript, 8 pp., A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 01/01.

¹²¹ IPN GK 113/6.

¹²² Information given by Gretchen E. Schafft that Riemann’s photographs were allegedly held in Washington has not been confirmed.

Before moving to Stift Rein, not far from Graz, Heiding had already organized an ethnicity studies' trip to Haczów, Krosno powiat (situated in this part of Poland, which by the German occupants was called the Generalgouvernement; the GG was planned as an area for new German settlers to settle in). As it was said, the village had been settled by German settlers before (in the Middle Ages). At that time, it had to be examined whether the previous German settlement could still be proven. The task was to record various ethnic materials. The participants were: Prof. Karl von Spieß from Vienna, the head of the Rosenberg "Mythology" Institut, Prof. Arthur Haberlandt from Vienna, also a teacher from Haiding, Prof. Bernhard Martin (Marburg/Lahn), the head of the "German Folk Language" research point, Dr Hans Lorenzen, the head of the Rosenberg Reich, Berlin, a photographer of the Institute, a translator of the Polish language and students-helpers, Herth Krauß and myself. We would now call Lorenzen a "political officer". He carried with him a cane for horseback riding, even though he did not have a horse. When Poles appeared in the field of vision, he constantly hit the uppers of his shoes with the cane, which made Hertha and me laugh. Hertha's task was to record all the children's games and sayings. In turn, I was to write down all the songs with notes and Polish lyrics, instruments and dance instructions (Sauer 1993: 147–148).

In turn, the report "Haczów. Volkskundliche Untersuchungen vom 12.4.–28.4.1943", preserved only in a residual form, with the handwritten note "Dr. Weibgen", presents a much broader scope of research, because it covers the whole picture of the village.¹²³ the team leaders include: Dr Lorenzen from Einsatzstab Rosenberg – the political management, and Prof. Martin from Marburg – the scientific management. It was noted that Professors Haberlandt and Spiess from Vienna and Dr Haiding were in Haczów only from April 20 to 26.¹²⁴ the Ethnographic Museum in Cracow holds a 22-page manuscript of "Die Untersuchung des Dorfes Haczów/Kreis Krosno/und der zugehörigen Grossgemeinde". Bernhard Martin was mentioned as the author (date: April 1943).¹²⁵ It is therefore unclear when Riemann joined the team, and perhaps also conducted the research in Haczów himself. In his SRV report of July 1943, he mentioned that in preparation for the field research in

¹²³ IPN GK 113/59.

¹²⁴ The team consisted moreover of two collaborators of Prof. Martin, Prof. Mitzka from "Deutschen Sprachatlas", two students, an assistant from Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle, interpreters and a photographer. IPN GK 113/59.

¹²⁵ On the title page there is a note "Riemann" in hand. The text has a form of an article prepared for printing; we have not managed to find out whether it has been actually published. MEK I/1690/MNP.

connection with the development of the GG's ethnographic atlas, he received special support in terms of cooperation from, among others, the Institut für Deutsche Volkskunde in Hohe Schule NSDAP, where Haiding was employed, and from Deutsche Sprachatlas in Marburg, where Prof. Bernhard Martin worked.¹²⁶ In April 1943, Riemann was certainly in Haczów and Krosno. Several "ethnographic" photographs have been preserved, taken by him in these villages at that time.

In 1944, the SRV employed only a dozen or so people, and its activity was limited mainly to processing the gathered material and works related to the preparation of the exhibition "Deutsches Volkstum im Generalgouvernement". Riemann was also an author of a detailed catalogue of the exhibition, with a nearly 20-pages long historical introduction and an index of the individual plates and exhibits.¹²⁷ Due to the decision to evacuate the exhibition, it was closed on the third day after its opening, which was reported with regret by Anton Plügel, who already sent a letter from Miltach to his field post office.¹²⁸ After the evacuation, although the number of the IDO's sections was significantly reduced, the SRV was left in place. The Institute functioned formally until the end of World War II. Gretschen E. Schafft, who briefly presents Eberhard Riemann's post-war scientific career, notes that he became a professor of ethnology and linguistics at the University of Kiel in 1964 (Schafft 2006: 177–178).

Our interest in IDO, as it was "forced" by the appearance of previously unknown sources, is also due to the undeniable, in our opinion, value of the materials stored in the SRV. It is a unique documentation of the life of many rural communities during World War II. The goals set by Hans Frank for the institution he established were clear, and the research carried out within the Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung resulted directly from Nazi plans to select the population of the occupied territories of Poland. Plügel wrote in a publication that had been published even before the beginning of systematic racial research on selected population groups:

For us Germans, the promoters of the National Socialist idea, who have been entrusted by the Generalgouvernement (GG) with the task of integrating this

¹²⁶ *Arbeitsbericht der Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung*, Krakau, den 7. Juli 1943. E. Riemann, Typed manuscript, 8 pp., A UJ, IDO SRV, Box 01/01.

¹²⁷ *Deutsches Volkstum im Generalgouvernement. Ausstellung Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit*. August 1944, Krakau.

¹²⁸ A UJ, "Old IDO", Box 70 (no page numbering).

country and its people into a larger and more permanent European structure, it is extremely important to gain full knowledge about the conditions in which we will have to work. We need to know exactly the forces and realities that we have to face in order to control the situation and, in accordance with the political will of our leader, to include this country within the framework of the new order (Plügel 1942b: 6).

The section was supposed to provide scientific background for the policy of maintaining and strengthening Germanness in the occupied areas and this is clearly and directly formulated in documents and publications as well as by other anthropologists and ethnologists from the SRV. Although, according to the statement of Dr Jan Sehn, the Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit was not recognised as a criminal organisation, the report on the SRV for the Polish underground authorities, referred to here on several occasions, does contain an opinion: "The results so far are not dangerous for the Polish science, they could become dangerous if they were already after the victory and if the Germans, with their proper abilities, started to 'positively' implement them" (Bałuk-Ulewiczowa 2004: 93). However, in our study we present a collection of German documentation primarily as a testimony to Nazi methods used towards conquered nations. The whole political and historical context, however, does not diminish the importance of the archival materials discussed by us also as a valuable source for broadening knowledge about communities whose living conditions, physical condition, family relations, economy, everyday life and festivity were preserved in this documentation. It seems that Prof. Krzysztof Stopka, who as the director of the Jagiellonian University Archives made efforts to have the IDO collection returned to Cracow, is a very pertinent reflection. He stressed that in spite of the assumptions of the German policy during World War II, the materials used to justify the extermination of the examined ethnic groups could contribute to the knowledge of their history and culture (Stopka 2008: 43). The inhabitants of the towns for whom the documentation was collected, discussed briefly in our article, got acquainted with the photographs and surveys during the meetings and presentations organized by the team of employees of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the Jagiellonian University, "discovered" German research also as an important episode in their own history.

In this paper, as we have already pointed out in the introduction, we have limited ourselves primarily to reproducing the research undertaken by the SRV, as it appears in the light of new, much richer documentation than that available to authors writing about IDO in the past. However, even in this respect,

we do not consider the subject to be exhausted. Undoubtedly, the activities of the IDO's Lviv Branch, especially those of Volks- und Volkstumskunde Polens und der Ukraine, need to be developed separately. Barely any studies have been started on the outstanding documentation of the Lemkos in the collections donated from Washington. New materials and photographs disclosed in the archives of the Institute of National Remembrance and the National Archive Branch in Cracow have so far only been preliminarily reviewed, and the team of the IEiAK UJ employees has already found further traces of dispersed documentation. We hope to present the results of subsequent archival searches and field searches in future publications.